

*Etiam disiecti membra poetae*



DAI WANGSHU

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DAI WANGSHU:  
THE LIFE AND POETRY OF A CHINESE MODERNIST

BY  
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*For Chen Quanli*

## ABSTRACT

Dai Wangshu as a poet and a personality made a controversial and lasting impact on the Chinese literary world of the 1930s and 1940s. Since the 1950s, however, many literary figures of the time have suffered neglect because they are not easily categorized as belonging to the orthodoxies of Left or Right. This has been so in Dai Wangshu's case. Moreover, there is also genuine confusion about Dai's political and literary beliefs.

This thesis aims to reevaluate Dai's position in the canon of modern Chinese literature and, by chronicling his literary, political and personal life, to present a comprehensive picture and correct current misconceptions.

There is a biographical emphasis as a result of much new information uncovered in the course of the author's research. The approach is chronological and covers Dai's early involvement in poetry and politics in late 1920s Shanghai, the process of intellectual sophistication and expansion in Europe, his anti-Japanese stance during the war period in Hong Kong and the final years of poetic silence leading up to his premature death in Peking, in 1950.

Dai's poetry is treated in terms of theme, language and form to reveal the poet's growth and progression of style. The extent of the poet's retention of classical Chinese poetic elements and the assimilation of Western post-Symbolist and other poetic influences are assessed in order to arrive at the essence of the poet's style, to examine its effectiveness as a modern medium for the expression of poetic thought and to decide the appropriateness of the label 'Modernist'. The definition of Modernism is thus broached and discussed.

Previously unconsulted material such as letters, diary fragments and manuscripts have been exploited and in the discussion of Dai's poetry and the literary and political questions of his day, extensive use has been made of correspondence and interviews conducted in China.

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Whatever the merits and value of the present work, they are due to the assistance and encouragement of all these. The faults and errors, however, are my own.

## INTRODUCTION

I started to take more than a general interest in Dai Wangshu, while participating in Professor D.E. Pollard's poetry course while an undergraduate. Apart from the fact that Dai's poetry was qualitatively different from that of most of modern Chinese poets, what attracted me more was the poet's apparent interest in the modern poetry of France and, to a lesser extent, of Spain. Chinese Government-British Council post-graduate scholarships held at the University of Peking from 1979 to 1981 and 1982-1983, gave me the opportunity to follow up this interest and I determined to discover to what extent Dai Wangshu had drawn on foreign influences. French poetry, in particular, had had a tremendous influence on modern Chinese poets of the 1920s and 1930s and I was anxious to discover what in particular had encouraged Dai in his relatively freer and more Modernist inclinations, while most modern Chinese poets were moving towards a Realist mode of expression. Evidently the French poets that Dai had chosen to emulate were not of the same ilk as those that others had taken as their models. In addition there was doubtless something in the personal and political make-up of Dai the man, that impelled him along his unique path.

While quite a lot has now been written in European languages about modern Chinese literature, there has been very little written about Dai Wangshu and others like him. In China, he has to a large extent been ignored. Since the beginning of the 1980s, however, the picture has started to change, and both in China and Hong Kong selections of his writings and critical articles have started to appear, although many of these have kept up a negative criticism of the majority of the poet's work. That Dai Wangshu has brought something unique to the growth of modern Chinese poetry has now, sometimes reluctantly, been admitted.

Because of the dearth of both biographical data and literary criticism concerning Dai Wangshu and his poetry I have decided to attempt to discuss both the life and work of the poet. A further problem has been the lack of critical explanation of Chinese Modernism. If it existed what was it? Western literature is far from revealing about the nature of Modernism in general and most attempts to define the Movement are only partial accounts. I have therefore considered it necessary to include a chapter on Modernism in general and how it may be perceived in the Chinese context.

The thesis therefore falls into seven chapters: three biographical, one central chapter dealing with Modernism, and three dealing with Dai Wangshu's poetic corpus.

In selecting poems for discussion, I have attempted to choose those poems which show both the strengths and weaknesses of the poet's craft , and those which best reveal the course of the poet's growth.

Previously attention has mainly been focused on the poet's earlier verses and except where I have found undiscovered points of interest I have observed a highly selective approach and opted for a detailed discussion of appropriate poems rather than a general survey of them all.

As for the critical approach I have adopted a magpie-like method. Since Dai's poetic growth encompasses preoccupations with, and later distaste for form, assimilation of foreign poetry and a concentration on certain thematic trends, I have attempted to parallel that growth with appropriate critical perceptions. To that end the reader will find detailed practical criticism of some of the early poems, attempts to uncover foreign influences which range from location of specific borrowings to a discussion of cultural and social similarities, and a more biographical approach to the poet's later poems which for the most part deal with the poet's own predicaments.

As for the foreign influences the reader will perhaps be surprised at the relatively less well known poets whom Dai Wangshu chose to admire and emulate. This in part explains the distinction between Dai's poetry and other Chinese poets influenced by

the French.

Throughout the literary chapters I have taken for my main approach the uncovering and explanation of the specific and general nature of Dai Wangshu's Modernism, whether it be in technique, mood or theme.

As to sources, the greatest difficulty encountered was in discovering the facts about the poet's life, in Shanghai, France, Spain, Hong Kong and Peking. Many misconceptions and much confusion lay in the path of this investigation.

As very little of Dai's life had been documented, I set about finding the truth by contacting the poet's acquaintances whether in China or France and was pleasantly surprised at their response. Professor Shi Zhecun (a neglected though substantial writer in his own right) and Professor Wu Xiaoling, longstanding friends of the poet, were particularly anxious to help as was the now famous French man of letters Etiemble. I have counted it a piece of extreme good fortune to have been able to talk to and correspond with these men of undoubted integrity who were happy and willing to document the facts.

As a result, many of the sources used, both in biographical and literary chapters, are unpublished: the information coming from letters and interviews, several of them tape recorded. In addition I have also been extremely fortunate in gaining access to hitherto unknown and unpublished letters and manuscripts; copies and translations of which are

appended to this thesis.

As to the bibliography, I have listed both books and articles cited and background material not quoted in the text. I have rifled and adapted the literary theories of others, especially those of the British literary critic, David Lodge. The books of Nadezhda Mandelstam also proved a great inspiration.

Dai Wangshu's cosmopolitan life and the times through which he lived, have necessitated recourse to works on European literary and political history, a reading of which undoubtedly clarifies the politico-literary events of pre-War China.

Dai Wangshu's poetry has for much of the last thirty-five years been ignored or condemned. Recent trends in China happily hold the promise of a more objective and considered 'revaluation' of his work. It is hoped that the reader will find this thesis a small contribution to that 'revaluation'.

## CHAPTER I

### POET IN THE MAKING

1905-1932

#### *Childhood and Youth*

We poets in our youth begin in gladness;  
But thereof comes in the end despondency  
and madness.

*Wordsworth, Resolution and Independence*

Born Dai Meng'ou 戴梦鸥 near Hangzhou, in the district of Hangxian, Zhejiang, in the year 1905 during the death-throes of the Manchu Empire, Dai Wangshu had a comparatively privileged childhood. His father was a branch manager of the Bank of China, an occupation which, while not attracting a large salary, nevertheless afforded certain advantages. Dai Licheng 戴立诚 was frequently feted and entertained by clients of the bank and thus managed to sustain a fairly comfortable standard of living.<sup>1</sup>

Dai attended high school in Hangzhou—the Zongwen zhongxue 宗文中学—together with Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 and Du Heng 杜衡 who were to be his friends and literary associates for many years.<sup>2</sup> It was during the last year or two at school that these three discovered a passion for writing and publishing. In

the spring of 1922 Dai, Du Heng and Shi Zhecun, who had already started his higher education at Zhijiang University, together with Zhang Tianyi 张天翼, who was to become a celebrated writer of fiction, launched a small literary magazine. Unfortunately none of its founders can remember the title and no copies survive.<sup>3</sup>

Dai had not yet started to write or publish poetry.<sup>4</sup> His first literary efforts, still extant, are to be found in *Hong zazhi* 《红杂志》; they amount to little more than a couple of humorous anecdotes in dialogue form.<sup>5</sup> His next contribution to this magazine was no more serious, consisting of a series of two line jokes in the form of puns.<sup>6</sup> Both pieces were published under his real name: Dai Meng'ou.

His next published piece of writing was a short story, presented under the heading: 'Five Minute Short Story'. It appeared in the magazine *Banyue* 《半月》.<sup>7</sup>

In 1923 Dai graduated from high school and enrolled in Shanghai University where he majored in Chinese literature.<sup>8</sup> He also attended classes in English together with Ding Ling. The class was taught by, the later famous, Mao Dun who during the Anti-Japanese War liaised with Dai in the organization of Chinese writers in Hong Kong.<sup>9</sup>

Between 1922 and 1924 Dai, according to his friend Du Heng, turned his hand to writing New Poetry.<sup>10</sup> It was also during this period that Dai took an increas-



ing interest in foreign, and in particular French, literature, an interest which fascinated him to such an extent that he transferred to Shanghai's Aurore University—a Jesuit institution which ran a special one year intensive course in French, *le cours spécial*. This was a course which leant heavily on rote learning and extensive reading of texts. As a consequence, Dai's reading ability was good but his fluency in the spoken language was somewhat limited.<sup>11</sup>

These university years were to be very influential throughout his life. Dai's love of French literature would colour his literary ideas until the very end of his writing career. Nevertheless Dai's grounding in Chinese literature was not wasted; during the 1940s he wrote numerous articles on classical literature. The double foundation of French and Chinese literature would later be evident in his creative writing.

1926 was a year of considerable activity for the young student. Dai joined the Communist Youth League and carried out basic propaganda work with Shi Zhecun: distributing leaflets and the like.<sup>12</sup> In the spring, Du Heng, Shi Zhecun and Liu Na'ou 刘呐鸥 collaborated with Dai on a little magazine scheduled to appear three times a month. The title of the magazine was *Yingluo xunkan* < 璎珞旬刊 > [Jade necklace tri-monthly]. The publication ran to four issues, from 17 March 1926 to 17 April 1926.<sup>13</sup> Although enjoying but a short life the magazine nevertheless provides a useful

source for research into Dai's early work, containing the first examples of Dai's poetry in print.

In each of the first three issues of the magazine, one of Dai's poems appeared, respectively: 'Ning lei chu men' 凝泪出门 (Stopping the tears I leave home); 'Liulangren zhi yege' 流浪人之夜歌 (Wanderer's night song); 'Kezhi' 可知 (It's plain). All three poems appear in Dai's first volume of verse, *Wo de jiyi* 《我底记忆》 [My memory], which appeared several years later in 1929. The poems are technically archetypal of his early phase: the single irregular end rhymes, the reduplicated adjectives, the literary Chinese tendencies.

First publishing poems in magazines was to develop into an established practice which would span the length of the poet's career. In the subsequent transition from magazine to anthology the poems would often be further polished and occasionally punctuation and vocabulary would be altered—the three poems mentioned above were all to some extent revised before inclusion in *Wo de jiyi*.

However, it was more likely to have been necessity rather than preference that led a young poet like Dai to publish poetry in small magazines run by friends. Even the work of well-known poets was not often enthusiastically taken up by established publishers, who could make quicker and larger profits from churning out popular light fiction.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, poets often had to resort to publishing their work themselves, which was naturally

prohibitively expensive for most.<sup>15</sup>

Apart from poems, Dai contributed a three-part detailed review of a selection of French poems, translated into Chinese, to the fledgling *Yingluo xunkan*.

The selection, *Xianhe ji* «仙河集» [Immortal streams] had appeared in *Xueheng* «学衡» and was compiled and translated by a professor of French literature at South-Eastern University, a certain Li Sichun 李思纯 who had studied in Europe for five years, living in the Latin Quarter of Paris for three years.<sup>16</sup>

Dai found the inaccuracies and the apparent departure from the literal sense in Mr. Li's translations so annoying that he took the time to criticize several of the translated poems meticulously.<sup>17</sup> He even went so far as to write:

Not only is the translator not conversant with French, but not even his Chinese is sufficiently lucid.

译者不但不通法文，就是国文也还不够不到精通二字。

18

While Dai's slightly immodest and enthusiastic condemnation of another's efforts at translation may not be entirely justified, the fact that Dai undertook this review indicates the young poet's admiration for French poetry and his apparent facility in the French language. Neither are his comments entirely unwarranted as a criticism of literal translation. Mr. Li evidently was not a literal-minded translator, Dai on the other hand had definite ideas about the art and execution of translation.

The short-lived publication also contained translations of Paul Verlaine and Heinrich Heine, indicating a discerning acquaintance with modern European poetry on the part of the young editors.

The summer of 1927 brought these early literary activities of Dai to an end as the excessively severe wholesale anti-Communist purges of Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi) obliged Dai to withdraw from University and go into hiding.<sup>19</sup> According to one source, Dai had already been arrested and briefly detained in March of that year.<sup>20</sup>

The enforced exile, in the company of his friends, while preventing any further publishing ventures, at least gave Dai the opportunity to concentrate on writing and translating. The literary efforts resulting from the flight of 1927 would supply much material for publication in the subsequent year.

In 1928 the friends re-grouped in Shanghai and Dai occupied himself solely with writing, translating and publishing. During the year Dai's output of printed poetry was considerable and moreover went a long way to establishing his reputation.

At this time Dai became involved with the most ambitious project he and his associates had yet contemplated; the founding of a publishing house, *Di yi xian shudian* 第一线书店 [First line bookshop].<sup>21</sup> The collaborators were Shi Zhecun and Liu Na'ou. The company was later re-named and re-established as the better known *Shuimo shudian* 水沫书店.<sup>22</sup>

*Rainy Alley Poet*

Never durst poet touch a pen to write.  
Until his ink were temper'd with  
Love's sighs.

Shakespeare, *Love's Labours Lost*

Although Dai and his friends had established a publishing company, they did not succeed in producing a publication until later in 1928. Dai therefore was still obliged to submit his work to other already established magazines.

Translations of a short story by Blasco Ibanez and two poems by the French neo-Symbolist Paul Fort appeared in *Weiming* 《未名》, a northern based magazine closely associated with Lu Xun.<sup>23</sup>

In August 1928 what was to become Dai Wangshu's most famous poem was, along with five other poems, published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.<sup>24</sup> The six poems—the first Dai had in print in over two years—were all subsequently included in *Wo de jiyi*, in the first of its three sections, "Jiu jinnang" 旧锦囊—except for 'Yuxiang' 雨巷 (Rainy alley) which was the title poem of the second section of the volume.<sup>25</sup>

The poems, 'Can' 残 de lei' 残花泪 (Tears of faded blossoms); 'Jingye' 静夜 (Quiet night); 'Zijia shanggan' 自家伤感 (Self-lament); 'Xiyangxia' 夕阳下 (Under the setting sun) and 'Fragments'—original title:

later the poem appeared with a Chinese title—were all significant poems but the one which captured the imagination of the young poetry reading public was 'Rainy alley'.<sup>26</sup> Eventually, it was this poem—its style, its imagery, its Symbolist associations—which Chinese readers would identify with Dai Wangshu and Modernism.<sup>27</sup>

At the age of twenty-three with a handful of poems to his name, and with one in particular making an impact, Dai Wangshu's reputation as a modern poet of some importance was established.

Dai and his friends launched their magazine *Wu gui lieche* 《無軌列車》 [Trackless train] on 10 September 1928, its success assured by the popularity of 'Rainy alley' and the contributions of Dai to the new publication.<sup>28</sup>

In the first issue were published the poems 'Lu shang de xiao yu' 路上的小語 (A little chat on the road) and 'Ye shi' 夜是 (Night is).<sup>29</sup> Translations of two French short stories by Paul Morand appeared in the fourth issue.<sup>30</sup> A further translation of Paul Fort's verse was published in the fifth issue.

The last two months of 1928 and the first month of 1929 saw the publication of five poems which, while retaining thematic similarities with his earlier work, show a certain growth in poetic vision. In November 'Du zi de shihou' 獨自的時候 (When alone) appeared; in December 'Duan zhi' 斷指 (Severed finger); and 'Duiyu

tian de huaixiangbing' 对天地的怀乡病 (Homesickness for the sky); in January the title-poem of the volume 'My memory' and 'Qiutian' 秋天 (Autumn).<sup>31</sup>

In the space of six months thirteen poems had been published in some of the most prestigious literary magazines of the day. The way was paved for the publication of Dai Wangshu's first collection: *Wo de jiyi* [My memory].<sup>32</sup> At a time when New Poetry was far from gaining complete acceptance, the success of Dai's first volume was considerable when measured by popular demand; a success evidenced by the size of the print-run: the first impression ran to one thousand copies, as did the second six months later.<sup>33</sup>

In the same month, April, *Shuimo shudian* published Dai's translation of Ovid's *Amores* — translated from the French.<sup>34</sup> What effect a close reading of Ovid's classic had on his own poetic sentiments is hard to judge. Less earthy and more in tune with the emotions of *Wo de jiyi* is his translation of the thirteenth-century French romance *Aucassin et Nicolette*, an anonymous work, unusual in that prose alternates with verse. The story concerns two young aristocratic lovers who after a long and troublesome separation are finally united.<sup>35</sup>

The demise of *Wugui lieche*— it was because of views expressed in this magazine that the *Diyi xian shudian* was obliged to be wound up, but only nominally as the establishment merely changed its name to become the *Shuimo shudian*— in December of the previous year left

the group temporarily without a forum; not until September 1929 did Shi Zhecun launch a new periodical, the monthly *Xin wenyi* «新文艺» which brought together the work of Dai Wangshu, Liu Na'ou and Mu Shiying 穆时英.<sup>36</sup>

The first number of *Xin wenyi* carried several of Francis Jammes' poems, translated with introductory notes by Dai.<sup>37</sup> This was the second neo-Symbolist poet to have attracted Dai's admiration—the first being Paul Fort. This issue also included the first instalment of a serialized translation of Colette's *Chéri*.<sup>38</sup>

The second number carried two poems later to be included in Dai's second volume of poetry: *Wangshu cao* «望舒草» [Rough drafts of Wangshu] which appeared in 1933.<sup>39</sup> The two poems, 'Dao wo zheli lai' 到我这里来 (Come over here to me) and 'Jiri' 祭日 (Day of sacrifice), while still maintaining the thematic trends of earlier poems—disappointment, melancholy and hopelessness—do nevertheless show a marked difference in several ways. 'Come over here to me', for instance, is much more explicit and sensuous in its imagery of love and the tone more intimate.

Dai's other contribution to this issue, a translation of two stories by the celebrated Spaniard, Azorin, shows a widening of interest in European literature.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Dai would enjoy reading and translating Azorin for many years and while in France Dai corresponded with the author and received a warm and gracious acknowledgement together with permission to trans-



late and publish at will.<sup>41</sup>

The first published reactions to *Wo de ji yi* appeared during November 1929.<sup>42</sup> Apart from readers' letters, the main piece was written by Zhu Xiang 朱湘, poet and critic, who picks out for comment the poems he finds most pleasing. In fact the piece was little more than a congratulatory letter from one poet to another and lacks any deep critical appraisal. Zhu Xiang concludes his comments by saying that he finds Dai's volume of poetry encouraging and that there is no reason at all to be "pessimistic about the future of New Poetry, the only sad thing is that too few people understand it!"

新诗的前途并无可悲观的,可悲观的是懂得新诗的人太小了!<sup>43</sup>

#### *Political Poet ?*

The four months December 1929 to March 1930 afford definite evidence of Dai's left-wing leanings. In the December issue of *Xiaoshuo yuebao* we find the first of several articles dealing with Marxism and literature.<sup>44</sup> Admittedly the article in question represents an unorthodox view of the place of Marxism in the literary sphere but it nevertheless indicates that Dai was thinking over the role of politics in literature. It is also significant that this article should have been submitted to *Xiaoshuo yuebao* since at the time the magazine was something of a forum for left-wing writers. Dai reserved his poetry and translations for

his own journal—the poems 'Shaonü' 少女 (Young girl) and 'Fanyou' 煩憂 (Troubled) in the December number and a translated selection of the poetry of Paul Fort in the January 1930 issue.<sup>45</sup>

In March 1930 Dai published two poems which were completely out of character and were never included in any anthology of Dai's verse while he was alive.<sup>46</sup> The unique nature of the two poems lies in the fact that they are both of a popular or leftist bent out of tune thematically with the poetry Dai was writing at the time; see for instance the two poems mentioned above and the two poems published soon after: 'Bachongzi' 八重子 (Ya-e-ko) and 'Wo de sumiao' 我的素描 (A simple sketch of myself).<sup>47</sup>

The first of the two poems, 'Women de xiao muqin' 我们的小母親 (Our little mother) eulogizes the machine predicting that it will be turned to the advantage of ordinary people rather than being the instrument of their oppression and thus should not be thought ill of. The second poem, 'Liu shui' 流水 (Flowing water) may be seen symbolically as representing the progressive forces of social history flowing onwards incessantly over all would-be obstacles.

The great significance of these poems is not in their literary merit or lack of it, but in the fact that their existence, and the date of their composition, belies the usual contemporary Chinese critical standpoint on Dai's literary and political career: that it

was not in fact until much later—during the period of Anti-Japanese Resistance—that Dai shed, as the critics see it, his despondent bourgeois individualism pervading his life and work and became a progressive and concerned writer. Narrow and over-simplified opinions such as the following abound:

Because the poet did not throw himself directly into the real social struggle, the fast-flowing current of the times, he inevitably hid in a little alleyway of individualism....When the Anti-Japanese War broke out...he awoke:

由于诗人没有直接投身于社会现实斗争，  
时代的洪流中，不可避免地钻进了个人  
主义的小胡同里去...抗日战争的爆发  
...觉醒了。

48

This is the standard politico-literary line on Dai Wangshu. But the two poems in question, serve to cast doubt—leaving aside the suitability of the judgment itself—on such straightforward periodization of, in Chinese terms, the poet's politically progressive awakening.

This point was emphasized by Shi Zhecun when interviewed:

...these two poems are useful as far as Dai Wangshu is concerned, because now people say that it seems that Dai Wangshu only became progressive after 1940 during the Anti-Japanese Resistance, but these two poems refute that.<sup>49</sup>

Shi Zhecun also points out that to try and determine a person's political thinking by the content of his creative work is hazardous and not a practical path worthy of pursuit.<sup>50</sup>

While in retrospect it may seem to have been only good politics to have written and published poetry in such a vein, it would seem that Dai's motivation was somewhat more altruistic. In the same issue of *Xin wenyi* several other articles and pieces written by Dai indicate his increasing interest in Marxism and progressive tendencies: for example, a piece on the British working class literary movement and another reporting the International Worker's Drama Conference.<sup>51</sup>

There is further evidence of Dai's political involvement at this time. Not two weeks earlier Dai and Du Heng had attended the founding meeting of the Chinese League of Left Wing Writers—a fact until recently not widely publicized by Chinese critics and literary historians.<sup>52</sup> Also little mentioned has been the fact that Dai had been active as a member of the Communist Youth League; a fact which led directly to his flight from Shanghai in 1927.

Over the succeeding few years Dai and his associates Du Heng and Shi Zhecun became more and more critical of the League and its policies, but in 1930 Dai was still quite enthusiastic about broadly left-wing literary discussions and activities. For a while Dai seems to have been interested in Soviet literature and literary theories—interested but not convinced.

It was still possible for League members to have diverse opinions at this point in its history. Coherent and dogmatic policies were yet to be formulated;

the absence of complete Communist Party discipline and control at this stage gave a relatively free hand to the organization's adherents.

Meanwhile Dai's literary ventures were suffering certain setbacks. In April 1930 *Xin wenyi* was forced to close and apart from a couple of poems published in June, Dai published no further poetry in 1930.<sup>53</sup> Translations of fiction and literary theory seemed to occupy Dai during 1930. In March a collection of short stories by Azorin appeared, followed in May by a contemporary Soviet novel by Libedinski—translated via the French.<sup>54</sup> In August, after selected sections of the work had already appeared in various magazines, the full translated text of Marc Ickowicz's *La littérature à la lumière du matérialisme historique* was finally published.<sup>55</sup>

In December 1930 an essay entitled "On Mayakovsky's Death" appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.<sup>56</sup> The fact that Dai broached such a subject would seem to indicate that he was not totally convinced by the official versions of Soviet literary life. Apart from considering the Russian's life and works and investigating the reasons for his death, the article also mentions Marinetti, the Italian Futurist who later became an exponent of Mussolini's fascism, Constanovitch Meyerhold and Esenin—another Russian poet who, torn between the vision of the past and the romantic revolutionary present, drifted into alcoholism and like

Mayakovsky eventually committed suicide.<sup>57</sup> Apart from indicating a certain scepticism about the position of writers in the new Soviet state, the article underlines Dai's fascination with European literary personalities, movements and political associations. This fascination remained with Dai—expressed in his translations of numerous essays and poems—for the rest of his life.

1931 was a rather fallow year as far as Dai's creative and translating work was concerned. Eleven poems were published altogether throughout the year—not an insignificant number when judged against his output in later years—and only one translation.<sup>58</sup> Very little information about Dai's other activities during the year is available. It is known, however, that some time during 1931 he made a trip to Peking to see if anything could be done about the pirating of *Shuimo shudian's* books. Pirating was a common practice at the time with central government control intermittently non-existent and recourse to prosecution costly and ineffective. The mission was unsuccessful but Dai did meet Luo Dagang 罗大冈 who was studying French in Peking and who would be Dai's room-mate in Lyons a year or so later.<sup>59</sup>

Of the poems Dai published in 1931, nine appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao*; in the January issue: 'Qiutian de meng' 秋天的梦 (Autumn dream) and 'Lao zhi jiangzhi' 老之将至 (Old age will soon arrive); in February: 'Dan lianzhe' 单恋者 (Unrequited lover); and then after a gap

of seven months a flurry of half a dozen poems: 'Cungu' 村姑 (Country girl), 'San ding li' 三顶礼 (Three acts of worship), 'Eryue' 二月 (February), 'Wo de lianren' 我的恋人 (My lover), 'Kuanbu' 款步 (A leisurely stroll), 'Xiao de lianren' 我的恋人小病 (Slight illness).<sup>60</sup>

Two poems—'Yean' 野宴 (Picnic) and 'Zuowan' 昨晚 (Yesterday evening) which were exceptionally, not included in subsequent anthologies—appeared in the same month in the League of Left Wing Writers organ *Beidou* 北斗 [Big Dipper].<sup>61</sup>

None of these poems have any political allusions; they develop the familiar themes of solitude and love.

Dai's lack of participation in the literary scene in 1931—the scarcity of articles and translations—seems to indicate his disenchantment with the increasing literary strictures of the left-wing literary pundits. At the beginning of 1932, however, Dai openly appears to differ with the orthodox literary theories of the organized left. In a short piece written for a feature in *Beidou* which comprised the views of various, mainly left wing, writers on the reasons for the stagnation to be found in current creative writing and what should be done about it, Dai's own viewpoint indicates a distinct distancing from the more or less official League line that had emerged over the previous year.<sup>62</sup>

By picking up on the League's favourite demand: that works should display realism, Dai made some very

astute and incisive observations on the problems of young writers who attempted to write in a 'realistic' vein:

The problem with the literary creation of authors to-day is that, with a few exceptions, they all display two weaknesses. The first is a lack of experience of life, so that their works often appear unrealistic, just like something made out of papier mâché. They know nothing about the life of the proletariat, neither do they know about the life of the bourgeoisie, and yet they still insist on writing this kind of thing, leading people to react in an adverse way. The second weakness is immaturity in technique. I think that at present there are several authors who need to go straight back to the beginning and start again with a, b, c and constructing sentences. They do not have the ability to produce a piece of coherent writing,...

今日的作家的创作，除了少数几个人以外，大家露着两个弱点。其一是生活的缺乏，因而他们的作品往往成为一种不真切的、好像是用纸糊出来的东西。他们和不知晓无多阶级的生活，也写不出阶级的生活，然而他们偏要写着这些东西，使人起一种反感。其二是技术的幼稚。我觉得，现在的有些作家，简直须要从识字造句起从头来过。他们没有能力把一篇文字写得通顺、...

63

This straightforward and stringent criticism gives some idea of Dai's strict standards in literary considerations. It also illuminates Dai's attitude towards the maladroit efforts of some leftist authors to write 'realistic' literature.

It is however the last paragraph of Dai's piece which really highlights the fact that Dai resented the interference of the 'esteemed' critics and also proves that a real rift had taken place, since the League's inception, between the League's chiefs and those of a



more independent mind who nevertheless felt themselves to be politically left-wing.

Most criticism of modern literary efforts came from the League at this time but Dai's point refers not only to the left but to anyone who would try to restrict the right of the individual to write as he saw fit, free from excessive pressure whether from left or right:

I hope that the esteemed critics will not insist that everyone adopt the correct [political] line of thinking on any given issue; this would be both impossible and futile.

我希望批評者先生們不要向任何人都  
要求在某一方面是正确的意識、這是  
不可能的事、也是徒然的事。

64

Dai is here stressing that the spirit of political consciousness is to be preferred to the strict laying down of the literary law in an officious manner. It must be said however that not even the spirit had any noticeable manifestation in Dai's own creative work.

The month of January 1932 was the last month of publication for most literary magazines. The suspension of the left-wing literary debate was likewise an inevitable consequence of the attack on the great metropolis of Shanghai by Japanese armed forces.

After the January 28 Incident the *Shuimo shudian* ceased operations, Liu Na'ou left for Japan—the poem 'Qian ye' 前夜 (The night before) refers to this—, Shi Zhecun returned to Songjiang and Dai and Du Heng return-

ed to Hangzhou.<sup>65</sup>

For three months hostilities raged, wrecking the economic and cultural life of the city. Almost every magazine and periodical had ceased publication.<sup>66</sup>

\*

By 1932 Dai had made his mark as a poet, asserted his artistic independence and worked out his political standpoint vis à vis the League of Left Wing Writers. The heyday for Dai and his friends was shortly to come with the establishment of the magazine *Xiandai* «現代» or *Les Contemporains*.

For Dai himself there lay ahead the invigorating experience of a sojourn in France and Spain at a time when the ferment of political and literary activity was no less effervescent than in China.

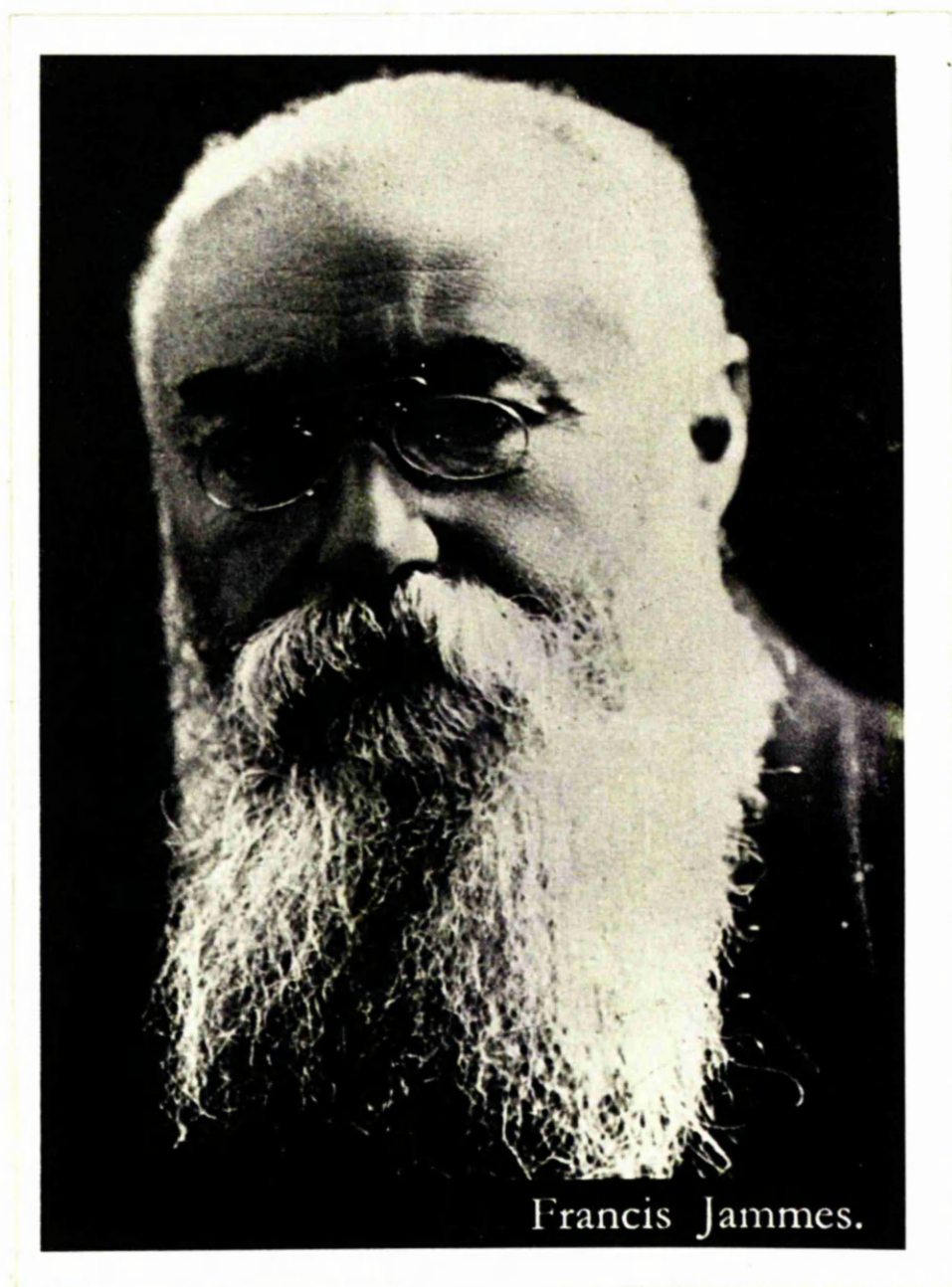


Fig. 1 Francis Jammes

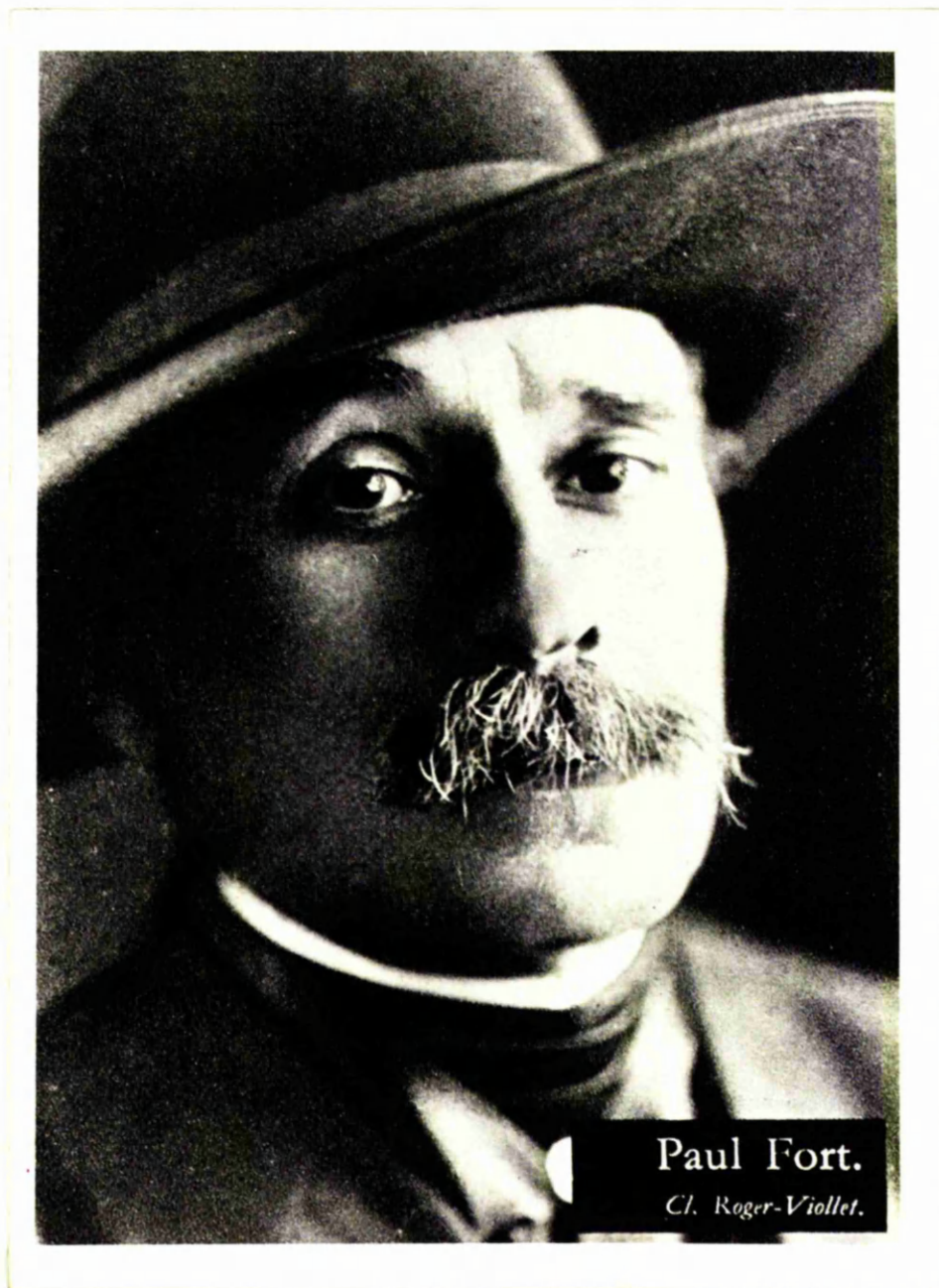


Fig. 2 Paul Fort



Fig. 3 Shi Zhecun

# 現代



Fig. 4 *Xiandai* Cover Illustration

## CHAPTER II

### VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES

1932-1935

#### *The Launching of Xiandai*

A man must carry knowledge with him,  
if he would bring home knowledge.

*Boswell's Life of Johnson*

The three years 1932-1935 saw a steady increase in the prestige and influence of Dai Wangshu and his friends, coinciding with a temporary eclipse of the established literary left.

The magazine *Xiandai* «现代», which also carried the French title *Les Contemporains*, edited by Shi Zhecun, made a great impact not merely because of its literary quality but also because it was one of the few literary periodicals which managed to survive the political vicissitudes of the period and thus attracted articles, short stories and poems from many talented writers, among whom were Ai Qing, Mao Dun and Ba Jin.

The group of friends also found themselves in the midst of a literary-political storm, the main protagonists of which were Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 on the one hand, and Du Heng and Dai Wangshu on the

other. Dai himself making his contribution to the debate from Lyons and Paris where he lived and studied for the greater part of this period.

In France, Dai met many intellectuals and writers and was apparently in the good grace of the French left-ists.

\*

In March, or possibly April, 1932 Shi Zhecun was invited by the proprietors of *Xiandai shuju* 现代书局 [the Modern Book Company] to produce an apolitical literary magazine. (The choice of title for the magazine may have been one of convenience.)<sup>1</sup>

The new magazine eventually appeared in May 1932 and included five new poems by Dai: 'Guoshi' 过时 (Out of date); 'Yinxiang' 印象 (Impressions); 'Qian ye' 前夜 (The night before); 'Kuanbu 2' 款步 (Leisurely stroll 2) and 'You zeng' 有赠 (In tribute). The latter poem provided the inspiration for the lyrics of a famous 1930s popular song called 'Chu lian' 初恋 (First love).<sup>2</sup>

Yet another of Azorin's short stories was translated by Dai for inclusion in the founding issue of the magazine, together with a translation of a story by another famous Spanish writer, Ayala. The former story appeared under Dai's pen-name, Jiang Si 江思, — probably to conceal the fact that so much of the magazine consisted of Dai's own contributions.

The third issue saw four more poems of Dai's published: 'Youzi yao' 游子谣 (Ballad of a traveller);



'Qiu ying' 秋蝇 (Autumn fly); 'Yexingzhe' 夜行者 (Night walker) and 'Weici' 微辞 (Concealed criticism).<sup>3</sup> Also in this issue was a short story, translated by Dai, written by the French Communist intellectual, who, aside from being editor of *L'Humanité*, was the French Communist representative to the Franco-Chinese friendship organization, *Amis du Peuple Chinois*, in which capacity he visited China.<sup>4</sup> Vaillant-Couturier would be a close associate of Dai in France where the two co-operated on several projects.

In the same issue there is an interesting interview with Marinetti, the Italian futurist that appears under one of Dai's pen-names: Jiang Si. In fact this turns out to be a translation of an interview culled from a newspaper.<sup>5</sup>

In the October and November issues six new poems were published. In October: 'Qiebo' 妾薄 (A woman's fate is cruel) and 'Shaonian xing' 少年行 (Ways of youth).<sup>6</sup> In November: 'Leyuan niao' 樂園鳥 (Bird of paradise); 'Xunmengzhe' 尋夢者 (Dream seeker); 'Deng' 灯 (Lamp) and 'Shenbi de yuanzi' 深闭的园子 (Secluded garden).<sup>7</sup> Thus fifteen of the poems to be included in Dai's second collection had first appeared over a six month period in the pages of *Xiandai*. These were the last poems for three years to appear in a Chinese literary magazine—until the appearance of Dai's own magazine *Xiandai shifeng* 《现代诗风》 in October 1935.<sup>8</sup> While in France Dai submitted only manuscripts of translations to magazines

in China.

Also in November the publishers of *Xiandai*, the *Xiandai shuju*, brought out a novel, translated by Dai via the French, by the Soviet author Vsevoled Ivanov. The work *Bronepoyezd 14-69* (Вронепоезд 14-69) [Armoured train No.14-69] was popular in the Soviet Union at the time and was also successfully turned into a long-running play.<sup>9</sup>

But by the time this latest translation was published Dai was already well on his way to France.

### *France*

Dai set sail for France on 9 October 1932 and kept a detailed diary of the voyage. The diary provides a full account of the day of departure and Dai's subsequent experiences and adventures. [A copy of the manuscript with notes and translation is appended. See appendix I.]

Dai left behind a flourishing magazine—much of the credit for which was his—and a firm reputation as a poet. He also left behind many close friends and his fiancée, Shi Zhecun's sister, Jiangnian who had been the object of Dai's attentions for several years.

Several of the poems in the collection *Wo de jiyi* were written with Jiangnian in mind and indeed the entire volume is dedicated to her; the dedication reads: "A Jeanne", which was the French name she adopted.<sup>10</sup>

Shortly after Dai left China, Jiangnian made it

clear to her brother that she wanted no more to do with the poet, but Shi, fearing Dai's reaction kept it from him throughout his stay in France.<sup>11</sup> One of the reasons for her discontent appears to have been Dai's precarious financial and social position; an anxiety shared by his father, Dai Licheng, who worried that Dai did not have a stable income or occupation. Shi's sister eventually eloped with a refrigerator salesman, presumably thus finding the financial and social standing she required.<sup>12</sup>

Dai arrived in France in November 1932, but until the end of 1933 around November or December his movements and whereabouts in France can only be roughly determined. From December 1933 onwards we are fortunate enough to have some surviving correspondence—letters from Etiemble, Abbé Duperray, Azorin and others—which furnish useful information about Dai's activities.[For facsimiles of letters and translations see appendix II.]

Also of great assistance are the recollections of Dai's room-mate in Lyons.<sup>13</sup>

According to Shi Zhecun, Dai went straight to the Institut Franco-Chinois—中法大学, a constituent unit of the University of Lyons—and later visited Paris. But several pieces of evidence seem to contradict this. Luo Dagang, who arrived in France in October or November 1933—a year later than Dai—and shared a room with Dai Wangshu at the Institut—which in fact was little more than a dormitory for Chinese students studying at the University of Lyons—thinks that Dai

only came to Lyons because he could no longer afford to live in Paris.

Dai enrolled at Lyons on 1 October 1933, Luo Dagang on 17 November 1933.<sup>14</sup> Luo recalls that Dai was to have met him at the railway station on arrival in Lyons, but being indisposed sent another student in his place.<sup>15</sup>

Dai therefore spent his first year in France, living and studying in Paris which was a thriving centre of literary and intellectual activity at the time. That Dai was obliged to transfer to Lyons because of his financial difficulties and had no real desire to reside there is further evidenced by a letter he wrote to Ye Lingfeng 叶灵风 on 5 March 1933, in which Dai indicates he had not been to Lyons and had no intention of moving there on a permanent basis:

I haven't used that letter of introduction you gave me yet, because I haven't been to Lyons. I might go down there for a trip during the latter part of the year.

你给我的那张介绍片我尚未用，因为我还没有到里昂去。或许下半年要去趟。

16

While in Paris, because of his interest in Spanish literature, Dai enrolled at the Berlitz language school and took a course in Spanish. Shi Zhecun also believes Dai attended classes at the Sorbonne and in a form filled in by Dai himself he writes that he attended the University of Paris.<sup>17</sup>

While in Paris Dai met a number of aspiring and established writers and men of letters including

Eugène Jolas, André Breton, Max Jacob and Etiemble. With the latter Dai developed a close working relationship. Etiemble was interested in Chinese language and literature and the two co-operated on translation projects as can be seen from Etiemble's correspondence with Dai.[See appendix II.] Supervielle, a poet whom Dai admired greatly, was interviewed by Dai in 1935.<sup>18</sup>

### *Literature and Politics*

1933 was a crucial year in the political history of Europe and Dai arrived in France just as the intellectual community was becoming increasingly concerned at the prospect of the spread of fascism. Mussolini had already been in power for several years and in January 1933 Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reich. The persecution of writers and artists in Germany swiftly followed and in France the reaction of left-wing intellectuals, with Communist Party impetus, was to establish the *Association des Ecrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires* (AEAR). It was under the aegis of this organization that Vaillant-Couturier set up a rally to be addressed by famous speakers from the literary and artistic world. Dai was invited to attend and later produced an account of the occasion for *Xiandai*.<sup>19</sup>

Speakers at the meeting included Paul Eluard and André Malraux, but the main attraction of the

evening was André Gide.

Dai was impressed by the show of solidarity displayed by these figures and in particular by the fact that a non-Communist writer such as Gide could apparently be both willing to support the Communists and be enthusiastically welcomed by them and not berated for not following the 'correct' line.

Dai seemed to savour the common sense of this arrangement and in his article asserts the writer's independence:

Although last year the rumour spread that Gide had joined the Communist Party, in fact ... ever since 1891 when he published his first famous work... he has throughout been a man loyal to his art.

雖然去年有說紀德曾入過共產黨的这个謠言，其實，自從他在一八九一年發表他的第一部名著...起，一直到现在為止，他始終是一個忠實於他的藝術的人。 20

Dai continues:

Nevertheless a writer loyal to his art is not necessarily a bourgeois 'flunkey'; France's revolutionary writers do not hold that kind of unenlightened opinion...

然而，忠實於自己的藝術的作家，不一定就是一個資產階級的「幫閑者」，法國的革命作家沒有這種愚蒙的見解... 21

This last statement is an obvious jibe at China's League of Left Wing Writers with whom Dai is comparing France's A.E.A.R.. Dai's position, then was one of asserting the writer's independence to write as he wished while giving political support outside of writing to the Party.<sup>22</sup> But was Dai correct in thinking that such a position was acceptable

to the Communist Party, any Communist Party, in the 1930s and was he right in believing that the French leftist literary establishment was so much more tolerant than that in China? Moreover could the writer really operate on two planes, as Dai seemed to believe?

It is well known that Gide had had a long and erratic flirtation with Communism, which for him had associations with christianity, and yet had never felt at ease with this attachment.

In fact there were tensions under the surface that Dai was naturally not privy to. While in China unorthodox leftist writers might be criticized in public, in France the tactic seemed to be one of private pressure and persuasion. Of this rally, for instance, —which Dai thought so highly of— there exists a different account which casts doubt on Gide's attitude to collaboration and participation. A close confidante of Gide, Maria van Rysselberghe, provides the background to this rally in her published notebooks.<sup>23</sup> It appears that Gide was very strongly coerced into participating in the event. He was extremely apprehensive of being *engagé* and not being able to think and write independently. Indeed several days before the rally took place, he had written an apology for his absence to be published in *L'Humanité*, but after a telephone conversation with Vaillant-Couturier Gide relented. Nevertheless, even after speaking at the popular meeting he still had grave doubts about the wisdom of his

action, worrying that it involved him too much "and when I say that I do not mean physically, I'm talking about my thinking." 24

Dai could not have known of Gide's personal agonizing and no doubt was not enlightened by his acquaintance Vaillant-Couturier. From Gide's earlier pronouncements the reasons for Dai's empathy with him are understandable. In 1932 Gide had written:

J'en suis venu à souhaiter de tout mon cœur la déroute du capitalisme et de tout ce qui se tapit à son ombre...

[I have come to wish most heartily for the upset of capitalism and everything that lurks in its shadow...]

25

Here Gide is talking of a utopian communism as a replacement for the corruption of capitalism. He continues:

Un communisme bien compris a besoin de favoriser les individus de valeur, de tirer parti de toutes les valeurs de l'individu, d'obtenir le meilleur rendement de chacun. Et l'individualisme bien compris n'as pas à s'opposer à ce qui mettrait tout à sa place et en valeur.

[A well understood communism needs to favour worthwhile individuals, to take advantage of all of the individual's values, to get the best output from everyone. And well understood individualism has no reason to be opposed to what would put everything in its place and bring out its value.]

26

This was the kind of pronouncement with which Dai would have sympathized and Communist Party theoreticians abhorred. From what Dai's friends relate Dai



was a warm-hearted man, generous and with a dislike of injustice. As for Dai's political beliefs, Shi Zhecun asserts that Dai was a leftist all his life.<sup>27</sup> As for the period of time in question we have Etienne's testimony that Dai's political attitude was "unyielding, very orthodox".<sup>28</sup> For instance Dai took a typical Communist Party dislike to Trotsky:

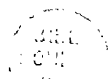
Très violemment hostile à Trotsky, que je défendais, admirais, moi, ce qui me valait chez les orthodoxes la réputation exagérée de "trotskiste".

29

[Very violently hostile to Trotsky, whom I defended, even admired, which got me the exaggerated reputation of being a "Trotskyist" with the orthodox [communists].]

Trotsky was of course most disliked by the Orthodox, or Stalinist, Communists—although this distaste for Trotsky was not exclusive to the Stalinists. This would seem to support the view that Dai was a strong supporter of the revolutionary aims of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, as evidenced in Dai's reference to Gide in his article about the A.E.A.R. rally, Dai sees a conflict between being an artist and a Communist Party member. In the field of art and literature Dai, naively perhaps, saw no reason why the politicians should interfere.

Michelle Loj in her recent study of Chinese poets influenced by France and French literature, notes that Luo Dagang, in a letter informing Abbé Duperray of Dai's death in 1950, states that Dai was on the point of joining the Communist Party. In interview



with me, Luo Dagang denies ever having written such a thing and moreover said that Dai had never even considered joining the Party; Shi Zhecun confirms this.<sup>30</sup>

Dai's attitude could well have echoed Gide's when the Frenchman wrote in 1933:

... communiste, de cœur aussi bien que d'esprit, je l'ai toujours été....

Au demeurant parfaitement inapte à la politique. Ne me demandez donc point de faire partie d'un Parti.

[...in heart as well as mind I have always been a communist....

Albeit, utterly unfit for politics. Do not therefore ask me to belong to a party.]

31

That Dai should have felt so positive about the Communist Party in France is understandable. The conditions were different. Dai himself was not directly involved and not under any pressure. Perhaps the French Communists were less dogmatic than their Chinese counterparts.

However cosy Dai may have found the alliance between the Communist and non-Communist left in France, the situation was far different in China at that time. A storm was brewing and Dai's favourable comments about the French A.E.A.R. served only to inflame the situation.

### *The 'Third Kind of Man' Controversy*

Dai ends his account of the AEAR rally with the following comment:

While the revolutionary writers of France are joining hands with Gide, our League of Left Wing Writers, it seems, see fit

only to continue projecting the so-called 'Third Kind of Men' as their sole enemies!

在法国的革命作家们和纪德携手的时候  
我们的左翼作家想必还是在把所谓「第  
三种人」当作唯一的敌人吧！

This was a dig at the League in the continuing wrangle between Du Heng and Dai on the one hand and the League's policy makers on the other.

The open split between the erstwhile League members Dai and Du Heng, and the League's intellectual giants came about after Du Heng assuming the pseudonym Su Wen 苏汶, had published an article in the July 1932 issue of *Xiandai*.<sup>33</sup> The article was written in critical support of Hu Qiuyuan 胡秋原 — a disenchanted left-winger who had asserted the belief that literary independence was essential for the Marxist writer and furthermore that the League did not have a monopoly on Marxist literary theory.<sup>34</sup>

Du Heng went further than Hu, with a full scale critique of the Left's attempts at literary theorizing. Theorizing was idle and unproductive, according to Du Heng, and to attempt to distinguish between 'useful' and 'useless' literature was wrong. While accepting the marxist view of history — as Dai accepted the political work of the Communist Party — he denounces the struggle for literary hegemony. He then introduces his concept of the "Third Category

of Men" or "Third Kind of Men":

In the fight for literary hegemony between the "free men of the intelligentsia" and the "unfree group bound to the Party", those who suffer most are the third group of people outside of these two groups.

在「智识阶级的自由人」「不自由的，有党派的」... 争着文坛的霸权的时候，最吃苦的却是这两种人之外的第三种人。

35

To Du Heng it was the idea that literature could be appropriated either by those purporting to represent the proletariat or those claiming to represent freedom that he found abhorrent, and he felt that it was this tug of war that had succeeded in discouraging writers from writing at all.

In October Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 replied on behalf of the League in that month's issue of *Xiandai*, in an article entitled 'Wenyi ziyou he wenxuejia de bu ziyou' 文艺自由和文学家的不自由 [Literary and artistic freedom and the writer's lack of freedom].<sup>36</sup>

Qu Qiubai first of all denies that there was a great mass of writers who shared Du Heng's feelings and goes on to attack Du Heng himself. He claimed that Du Heng in taking this position of the so-called 'Third Kind of Man'—and indeed even his putting pen to paper—was expressing a certain class consciousness. Qu also insisted that literature should serve politics. Literature belonged to a certain class and each class had in fact a literature. The struggle

was between these different literatures—an uncompromising Marxist stance. As for the writer:

...he can never be a 'Third Kind of Man'  
 .... Each writer consciously or not,  
 whether wielding a pen or not, is the  
 representative of a certain class ideology.

...作不成...「第三种人」...每一个文学家，  
 不论他们有意，无意的，不论他是在  
 动笔，或者沉默着，他始终是某一阶级  
 的意识形态的代表。

37

The lines were drawn. Shortly after this article was published Dai left for France.

Lu Xun, after reading Dai's write-up of the A.E.A.R. rally in Paris which included Dai's jibe at the League, put pen to paper to criticise Dai.<sup>38</sup> Having written off the existence of a 'Third Kind of Man' and his literature, Lu Xun then casts doubt on the possibility of Gide's being some sort of French 'Third Kind of Man', but admits that he had never read any of the man's work and knew little about him. According to Lu Xun, whatever the situation might be in France, the situation in China was completely different. In China, a literature of struggle was emerging; a literature of a new class. It was a time of war and class struggle and for anyone to think that he could transcend class when living in a class society, to think he could be independent when living in a time of war and write the literature of the future while living in the present was in fact an illusion.<sup>39</sup>

What Lu Xun knew or thought of the struggles in Europe at the time—the revolutionary tide in Social-

ist Republican Spain, the struggle against fascism in Italy and central Europe, the factional rioting in France—we do not know. Evidently any allusions to social and political conditions outside China did not interest him, at least not as far as discussing the 'Third Kind of Man' controversy was concerned.

Lu Xun had, perhaps intentionally, missed the point. Dai was urging the independence of the writer as writer and not an escape from the social and political conditions prevailing. Dai continued to help Vaillant-Couturier and Etienneble with their political work in France and was active in promoting the work of Zhang Tianyi and Ding Ling—both active League members—and later during the Anti-japanese War was a vital member of writers' organizations doing propaganda work in Hong Kong.

By the time Dai returned to China, Lu Xun's and Qu Qiubai's views on proletarian literature were in abeyance. The emphasis had shifted temporarily to unity among writers and intellectuals—who became the corner-stone and beacon of the new political United Front policy adopted by the Communist Party. Under the banner of National Defence Literature insistence on revolutionary proletarian literature was relaxed.

### *Lyons*

By the end of 1933 Dai was more involved with his French acquaintances and publishing work in France than he was with the literary-political wrangles back

in China. At this time he was probably more interested in receiving the fees for his translations than in pursuing literary vendettas.<sup>40</sup>

At the end of September 1933 Dai moved to Lyons. He shared a room, a rather large room as the building was a converted hospital, with Luo Dagang, in the Institut Franco-chinois. Dai would spend his time writing letters, translating and visiting friends. Dai had little money to do anything else. He had a free room and a little pocket money from the university authorities. Luo Dagang, who had a scholarship, would often lend him money for cigarettes and books. They had one regular visitor, Abbé Duperray, who helped them both with translations and the understanding of French poetry.<sup>41</sup>

Throughout 1933 Dai had been submitting translations to *Xiandai* and *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》. In May, *Dongfang zazhi* published Dai's translation of an Italian short story.<sup>42</sup> In *Xiandai* a translation of a biographical article by Jean Cocteau preceded a nine part serialization of Dai's translation of Radiguet's novel *Le bal du comte d'Orgel*.<sup>43</sup> Again in *Dongfang zazhi*, in the September issue, there appeared a translation of Jean Giono's *La solitude de la pitié* with an introductory note by Dai.<sup>44</sup>

In August 1933 the first edition of Dai Wangshu's second volume of poetry, *Wangshu cao* 《望舒草》 [Rough drafts of Wangshu], prefaced by Du Heng,

was published. While assuring Dai's position as a poet—it had been four years since Dai's first volume of poetry had been published—the fact that Du Heng had provided the preface also served to identify Dai more emphatically with Du Heng's literary-political stance. Moreover Dai and Shi Zhecun were already seen as closely allied with Du Heng as the latter had assumed the position of co-editor of *Xiandai*, not entirely to the satisfaction of the existing editor, Shi Zhecun.<sup>45</sup>

The poetry published in the new volume had all been written before Dai's departure for France and Dai once in France wrote very little poetry, preferring, possibly because he was in need of the fees, to do translations for publication in Chinese magazines. But Dai also was active in helping his French acquaintances translate Chinese pieces into French.

The first letter (of eighteen extant) from Etiemble, concerns the translation of short stories by Ding Ling. In the letter Etiemble asks Dai to select, translate and send to him examples of Ding Ling's work to be read out at a meeting in Paris. The letter was sent in November 1933, shortly after Dai's move to Lyons.<sup>46</sup> Dai replied to Etiemble in a letter of 2 December 1933 — one of only five extant letters written by Dai to the Frenchman.<sup>47</sup>

Etiemble's next letter asks if Dai would consider contributing some "interesting and short" pieces



for a special issue of *Commune*, for which Etiemble was responsible: "chargé de préparer avec Tai Wang-chou un numéro spécial de *Commune* ... consacré à la Chine révolutionnaire." <sup>48</sup> *Commune* was a French Communist Party inspired publication "founded in July 1933 by Vaillant-Couturier and Aragon...as the monthly organ of the A.E.A.R. ....[it] remained strictly orthodox and was Vaillant-Couturier's most potent organ of propaganda." <sup>49</sup>

Dai replied to Etiemble on 16 December agreeing to assist. <sup>50</sup> Thus despite his reputation in China as a 'third kind of man' Dai was still happy to promote the work of League members such as Ding Ling and Zhang Tianyi, both of whom it may be remembered were old classmates of Dai's. Dai was not paid for his translations as we discover from Etiemble's letter of 2 May 1934 in which he congratulates Dai on his translation of the Zhang Tianyi short story 'Hen' 恨 (translated as 'Haine') and goes on to suggest that Dai might submit other translations to magazines which paid, such as *Europe*. <sup>51</sup> Dai did in fact later submit translations of some of his poems to this literary magazine only to have them rejected. <sup>52</sup>

The French translation of 'Hen' has survived and was reproduced by Etiemble in his biographical *Quarante ans de mon maoïsme*. <sup>53</sup> The translation first appeared in the March-April issue of *Commune*, with Etiemble (using the pseudonym Jean Louverné) as co-

translator. The same issue also contained Dai's translation of a short story by Ding Ling.<sup>54</sup>

Etiemble tried unsuccessfully throughout the year to get publishers, such as *Nouvelle Revue Française* and *Europe*, to accept a collection or at least individual short stories for publication.

Although Etiemble was finding difficulties in having Chinese short stories published in France, Dai found no such problems in attracting publishers for the stories and articles that he translated from the French. In May 1934, for instance, a volume of French stories, commissioned by the Shanghai publishers *Tianma shudian* [Heavenly horse bookshop], was published. An interesting anecdote revolves around this collection of stories. Dai had promised to translate a selection of a dozen stories before he had left China in 1932 and indeed had already been paid for the work. However, Dai was so occupied with other projects--such as his collaboration with Etiemble--that he had not managed to complete more than a couple of translations.

Dai resolved the dilemma of the unfinished translations by enlisting the support of his friend, Luo Dagang who did Dai the favour of translating the remaining stories. Although Dai had entrusted the work to Luo, without payment, when the volume finally appeared it was Dai alone who was credited with the translation! Luo does not seem to have been overly perplexed by this episode although he has not forgot-

ten it.<sup>55</sup>

Dai seems to have taken an increasing interest in Soviet literature and his translation of an article by the Russian emigré Benjamin Goriely, entitled "Esenin and the Russian Imaginist School of Poetry", appeared in the July issue of *Xiandai*.<sup>56</sup> Dai's attraction to Russian poetry is not surprising when one considers Dai's contacts with French Communist intellectuals who at that time had a higher regard for the literature of the Soviet Union than for that of France.

Nevertheless it seems to have been Spain rather than the Soviet Union that inspired Dai's imagination throughout 1934. In a letter from a certain Lee Hagen written from New York we read: "It pleases me very much to hear you are going to Spain." The letter is dated 8 March 1934.<sup>57</sup>

There exist unconfirmed reports of Dai's visit to Spain which would have him in Valladolid in August 1934 and in Madrid in 1935, but the only solid evidence indicates that Dai visited Spain in the autumn of 1934. Shi Zhecun relates that Dai was in Madrid for several weeks in September and October and has supplied a photograph of Dai in the Plaza de España, Madrid, dated 15 October 1934.<sup>58</sup> Etienneble has in his possession a letter written from Madrid and dated 19 September 1934, in which Dai said he would be leaving Lyons in November to return to China, which he did not do.<sup>59</sup>

As for Dai's activities in Madrid we know, from an article he later wrote, that he spent much of his time browsing in bookshops and discovering the relatively cheaper bookstalls:

Whereas the bookshops wanted seven to ten pesetas for new books, there [at the bookstalls] you could buy them for two or three pesetas.

書店要賣七個至十個比塞達的新書，那里兩個比塞達就可以買到。

60

Dai also managed to see the collection of Chinese books kept in the Palace of the Escorial outside of Madrid and later wrote an account of his visit and of the collection brought to Spain by early Jesuit missionaries.<sup>61</sup>

Thus the month of October sped by and Dai, having bought numerous books of poetry by Lorca, Salinas, Alberti and novels by Azorin, Ayala and Baroja among others, returned to France.<sup>62</sup>

It was still four or five months before Dai would leave France for China but his remark about an imminent departure in his letter to Etiemble was timely, for this visit to Spain led to Dai's being reported to the university authorities in Lyons. The fifty to sixty Chinese students at the Institut franco-chinois were politically a mixed bag. They included secret leftists and K.M.T. rightists between whom there was naturally much tension. The rightists reported Dai as having gone to Spain to engage in

revolutionary activities and claiming that he was a supporter of the left-wing government there. That Dai supported the government is likely and his known association with Communists like Vaillant-Couturier would undoubtedly have helped his opponents' case. Political activity was not permitted at the Institut and Dai had also failed to keep another of the University's rules: that students must submit themselves for examination within two years of taking up residence. Dai had no intention of taking a diploma and moreover did not attend classes. The allegation of political activity together with his failure to attain academic distinction in the eyes of the authorities led ultimately to his being asked to leave.<sup>63</sup>

There is no evidence that Dai made any political contacts in Spain or indeed that he consorted with any Spaniards. Michelle Loi asserts that Dai may have very well met several authors in Spain but none of Dai's acquaintances, such as Luo and Shi, believe this to be so. Mme Loi also writes that Dai visited Spain on a second occasion in 1936, which might give more credence to the notion that Dai had contact with Spanish writers, had he not left Europe early in 1935.<sup>64</sup>

Back in Lyons, Dai found a letter from Jean Ballard, editor of *Cahiers du sud* ( a southern literary monthly published in Marseilles). Ballard wished to accept six of Dai's poems, translated into

French, for publication in his magazine. This was a fortuitous event as two other magazines-*Europe* and *Noir et Blanc*-had both rejected Dai's work. The poems eventually appeared in the March 1935 issue of the magazine. <sup>65</sup>

Before leaving France for good, Dai paid one last visit to Paris. He arrived in late December 1934 and stayed at least until the 15 January 1935, at the house of a Chinese friend in Paris. The Chinese friend was Chen Shiwen, who lived at 48 rue Daguerre, in the fourteenth quarter of Paris-a district popular with writers and artists, Henry Miller being one famous resident.

These details are available to us through the correspondence of Etiemble and Duperray over these few weeks-Duperray himself being in Paris over the Christmas period. <sup>66</sup>

Luo Dagang recalls how, when visiting Paris, they spent their time. <sup>67</sup> Penniless, they relied on the hospitality of Chang Shuhong 常书鸿, an artist, and spent their days leafing through second hand books at the bookstalls, looking at paintings in the various galleries and museums, in fact taking advantage of all kinds of low-cost pastimes.

It was not all play. In December 1934 Dai had several meetings with acquaintances of Etiemble and thanks to an introduction from Duperray had an interview with the poet Jules Supervielle. <sup>68</sup>

This interview Dai later wrote up and published in October 1936 in the first issue of a new poetry journal founded by Bian Zhilin, Sun Dayu, Feng Zhi and Dai himself. The interview is interesting for the insight it gives into Dai's changing literary preferences. For instance, when Supervielle asks Dai which French poets he prefers, Dai replies:

...perhaps Rimbaud and Lautreamont; as for contemporary poets, in the past I have liked Jammes, Fort, Cocteau and Reverdy, now I have already transferred my predilections to you [Supervielle] and Eluard.

...或许是我喜欢的波德莱尔和兰多;在当代人之间呢,我以前喜欢过那末,福尔,高克多,雷维耶,现在呢,我已把偏爱转移到你和爱伦身上。69

So the poets of the late Symbolist tradition were no longer as favoured by Dai as they had been in earlier years. He also goes on to say that his favourite Spanish poets were Lorca and Salinas.

After Dai's short stay in Paris the correspondence unfortunately stops. Dai left the Institut on 8 February 1935.<sup>70</sup> As an unsuccessful student, according to the rules of the Institut, Dai was supplied with only a 4th class no-berth ticket for the voyage from Marseilles to Shanghai. Since Dai had no money there was little he could do but take it. Only Luo Dagang saw him off at the port. Dai asked if Luo had enough money to buy him a small present and said he would like a volume of Mallarmé's poems.<sup>71</sup>

Thus Dai set sail for Shanghai. Things had

changed somewhat in his absence. *Xiandai* had passed out of the editorial hands of Shi Zhecun and Du Heng after a dispute with new management. Shi had founded a new journal, *Wen fan xiaopin* 《文飯小品》 in February 1935, to which Dai submitted a selection of translated poems by his recent discovery: Lorca.<sup>72</sup>

Dai had written only two poems while in France: 'Guyi da ke wen' 古意答客問 (Classic answers to a friend's questions), dated 5 December 1934. The poem was also, and perhaps originally, written in a French version with the title 'Réponses à un hôte'. The second poem 'Deng' 灯 (Lamp)-the second poem Dai had written with this title- is dated 21 December 1934 and was therefore probably written while Dai was staying in the rue Daguerre in Paris.<sup>73</sup>

But while Dai had written very little new poetry during his time in France, he had nevertheless broadened his knowledge of European literature considerably and become acquainted with several writers personally.

Back in Shanghai Dai would gradually settle back into the literary world, at least until that world broke up, for ever, with the impact of the Japanese invasion.





Fig. 5 Raymond Radiguet, by Picasso



Fig. 6 André Gide



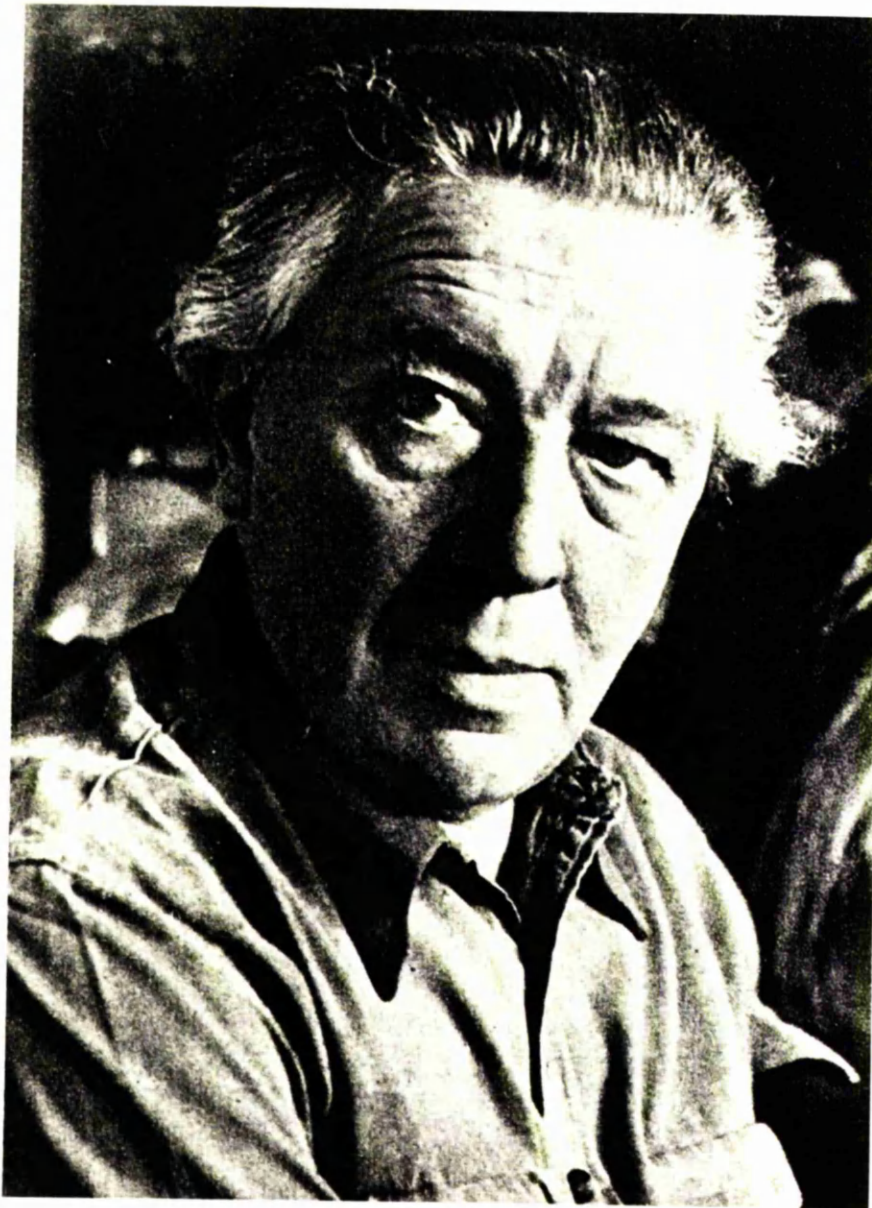


Fig. 7 André Breton



Fig. 8 Max Jacob, by Picasso

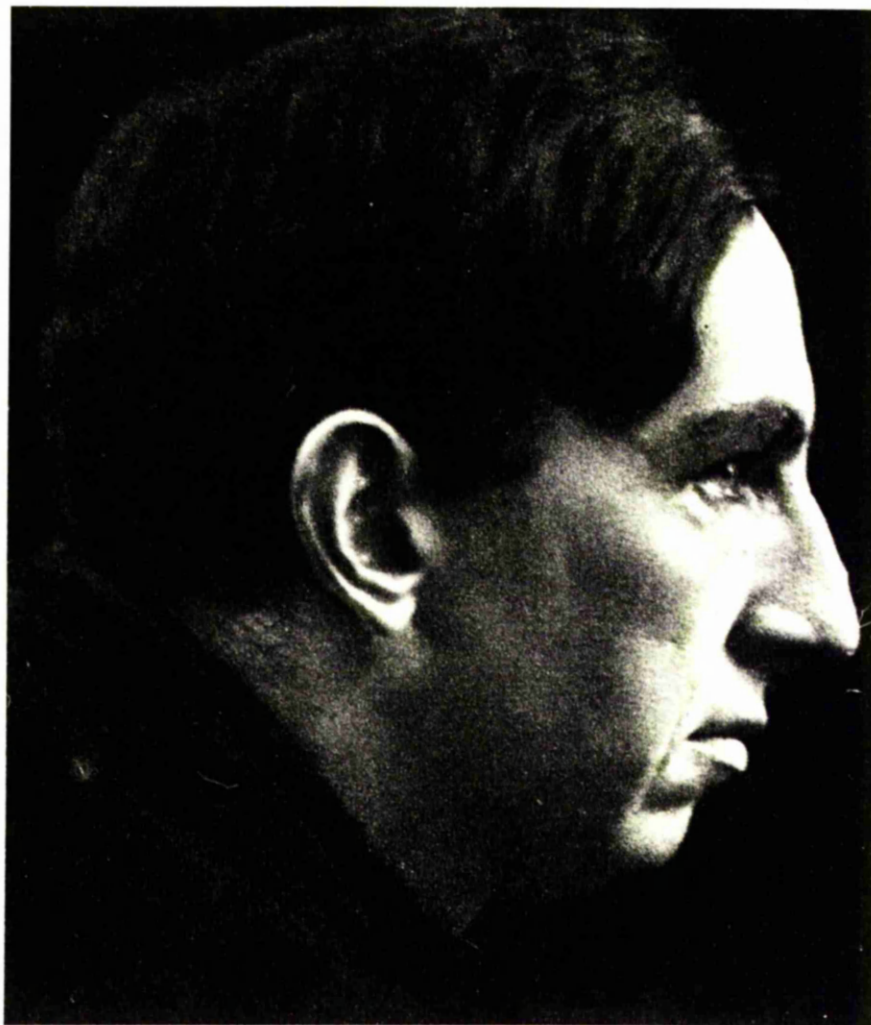


Fig. 9 Jules Supervielle





Fig. 10 Institut franco-chinois



Fig. 11 Institut franco-chinois, dormitory



Fig. 12 Dai Wangshu in Paris



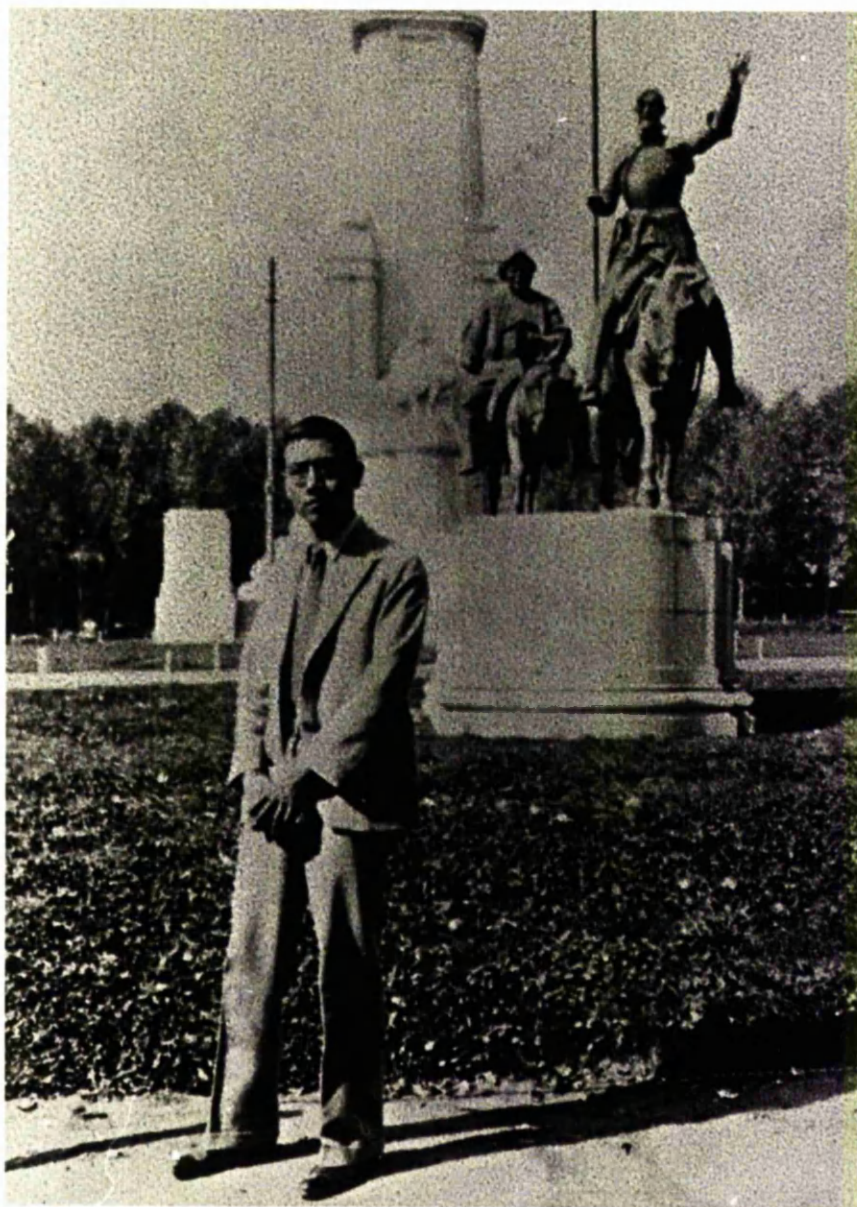


Fig. 13 Dai Wangshu in Madrid, October 1934

### CHAPTER III

#### EXILE AND RESISTANCE

1935-1950

#### *The Last Years of Peace* 1935-1938

From the summer of 1935 to the summer of 1937 Dai Wangshu spent his time and earned his living in editing, translating and teaching.<sup>1</sup>

He wrote only seven poems during this period and published a volume of verse which was by and large a critical selection of previously published poetry.

In the spring of 1938 after the Japanese invasion of Shanghai, Dai left for Hong Kong with his wife and baby daughter.

.....

In October 1935, Dai made a significant literary reappearance in Shanghai-after his long absence in France-with the launching of a new magazine devoted entirely to poetry. The new publication, *Xiandai shijeng*, 《现代诗风》(Contemporary trends in poetry), was intended to appear every two months but failed to reappear after the first issue. Dai's contributions to the magazine were extensive and according to the publication data in the magazine itself Dai was the Editor-in-Chief and Shi Zhecun the publisher. Shi, however,

states that he alone was responsible for the whole venture.<sup>2</sup>

Most of those who contributed would have described themselves as Modernists, as might be expected from the title. The contributors included: Jin Kemu 金克木, Xu Xiacun 徐霞村, Shi Zhecun 施蛰存, Xu Chi 徐迟, Nan Xing 南星, Hou Ruhua 侯汝花, Lin Geng 林庚, and Lu Yishi 路易士 who all contributed poems and Liu Na'ou and Du Heng who translated some foreign poetry.<sup>3</sup>

Dai himself included four previously unpublished poems in the magazine. The two poems he had written in France and two written in 1935: 'Qiu ye si' 秋夜思 (Autumn night thoughts) and 'Shuang hua' 霜花 (Frosty flower). He also contributed a translation of an article on Russian poetry by Goriely which dealt exclusively with Mayakovsky.<sup>4</sup> Also concerning Dai is an advertisement for *Wangshu cao*, explaining that the poet no longer considered a number of the poems in *Wo de jiyi* to be satisfactory and therefore he had decided to publish *Wangshu cao* as a definitive edition-*dingben* 定本 - of his work to date.<sup>5</sup> The volume had of course already been available for two years.

In 1936, he continued to translate and also produced a small number of poems. It was during 1936 that he undertook to translate the whole of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. Shi Zhecun recalls that Dai was given a monthly stipend by the British committee in charge of

a fund of money turned over to Britain under the Boxer Indemnity.<sup>6</sup> However the only record of this project is to be found in the reports of the United States committee established for a similar purpose: *The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture*. One of its projects administered through the Committee on Editing and Translation, was to translate foreign works of literature into Chinese. In its 1936 report there is the following note: "translations that are under way in the sub-division of literature include Cervantes' *Don Quixote* by Mr. W.H.Tai,...."<sup>7</sup>

The translation was never completed-perhaps because the undertaking was too ambitious, perhaps because the war rendered the project a luxury. (Unfortunately, the manuscript has been lost.) In any case, Dai still had to try and supplement his income by translating other more manageable works.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless the regular stipend while it lasted, was undoubtedly welcome for on 27 May 1936 Dai married for the first time.<sup>9</sup> His bride, Mu Lijuan 穆丽娟 was the sister of his friend and colleague Mu Shiying, the short story writer who during the War of Resistance Against Japan was assassinated by the 'underground' as a suspected Japanese collaborator.<sup>10</sup>

It was also in 1936 that the fruit of Dai's visits to Madrid's bookstalls became apparent. Among other translations a collection of Spanish short stories was brought out; the volume included writers

such as Alarcón, Dario, Unamuno, Ayala and, of course, Dai's favourite, Azorin. Its publication in June was followed by a translation of the novel *Le disciple* by the French author Bourget, in July.<sup>11</sup>

Translations of foreign poetry appeared in yet another magazine wholly devoted to poetry: *Xin shi* <新诗> [New poetry], launched and co-edited by Dai and Bian <新诗><sup>12</sup> [New]. The monthly magazine first appeared in October 1936 and successfully ran until the summer of 1937 when outside circumstances forced its closure. Eight issues in all were produced carrying the work of many of China's new poets and introducing by way of translation and critical articles many foreign poets. Dai himself was responsible for much of the translating and the biographical and critical sketches.

As for Dai's own original poetry, he wrote a mere six poems in the two years 1936 and 1937, three of which appeared in the new magazine.<sup>13</sup> Indeed the poem he wrote in 1937, dated 14 March, 'Wo sixiang' 我思想 (I think) was his last poetic effort until the appearance of 'Yuanri zhufu' 元旦祝福 (New Year blessing) written and published, while in exile in Hong Kong, on the first day of 1939.

The second half of 1936 was taken up with translation and preparing for publication the new poetry magazine in which Dai finally managed to publish his account of his interview with Supervielle. Accompanying the interview was a critical appreciation of

the French poet's work and Dai's translations of a selection of his poems, chosen for translation into Chinese by Supervielle himself. Eight poems in all were selected from three different volumes: *Le forçat*, *Gravitations* and the volume published just before Dai's departure from France, *Les amis inconnus* [Unknown friends], (1934). Supervielle refused to be categorised with any movement or school and believed that however complex or mysterious the subject of a poem, clarity and intelligibility should be the objective. Remarks with which Dai evidently empathised, as he confesses in the interview with Supervielle.<sup>14</sup>

The clarity and intelligibility advocated by Supervielle is adequately conveyed in Dai's translations. One poem in particular is notable, for not only does it illustrate Supervielle's meaningful simplicity but was also obviously chosen by the Frenchman for its symbolic representation of the ties between the two poets. The poem, which relies on simple imagery for its impact is 'Un bœuf gris de la Chine', taken from the collection *Le forçat innocent* [The innocent convict]:

Un bœuf gris de la Chine,  
 Couché dans son étable,  
 Allonge son échine  
 Et dans le même instant  
 Un bœuf de l'Uruguay  
 Se retourne pour voir  
 Si quelqu'un a bougé.  
 Vole sur l'un et l'autre  
 A travers jour et nuit  
 L'oiseau qui fait sans bruit  
 Le tour de la planète

Et jamais ne la touche  
Et jamais ne s'arrête.

15

[A grey Chinese ox,  
Lying in its shed,  
Stretches its back  
And at the same moment  
An ox in Uruguay  
Turns round to see  
If someone has moved.  
Flying above them both,  
Bridging night and day,  
The bird who silently  
Flies around the planet,  
Yet never touches it,  
And never stops to rest.]

Supervielle had lived most of his youth in Uruguay and such images of his other home are common in his poetry. Here these animals of a kind acting in a similar fashion though they will never come across each other are nevertheless connected by a common element, the bird. It is easy to see why the poem was chosen as suitable for this short selection in Chinese. Interpreting the bird as some sort of muse connecting the two poets might not be misinterpreting Supervielle's choice of this poem.

In the second issue of *Xin shi* (November 1936) Dai unveiled another of his European discoveries: the contemporary Spanish poet, Pedro Salinas; translations of whose poetry were accompanied by a biographical sketch.<sup>16</sup>

In the subsequent issue an unusual departure for the poet was the translation of three poems by the English poet, Blake. Perhaps one of Dai's literary friends who specialized in English literature interest-

ed Dai in the poet. Dai had, of course, taken a English course while attending Shanghai University but whether or not Dai translated these poems from the English or from French is not known.

What is certain, however, is that when in 1937 Dai turned once again to the translation of Russian poets of the revolutionary era, Dai worked from French versions. According to Shi Zhecun, Dai knew no Russian and had only a passing interest in Russian poetry and that no political significance should be inferred.<sup>17</sup> Shi also recalls that Dai was commissioned by the Russian community in Shanghai—already large but swelled to about 25,000 becoming the largest single group of foreigners in Shanghai by the influx of refugees from Japanese-occupied Manchuria—to translate some of Pushkin's poetry into Chinese in commemoration of the centenary of the poet's death.

The only published translations of Pushkin's poetry are to be found in the February 1937 issue of *Xinshi*. Dai used the pen-name Ai Engfu 艾昂甫 when translating Pushkin as he did when translating Esenin for the April issue of the magazine.<sup>18</sup>

As is the case with most literary translators Dai tried to translate only those works he loved, but this was not always possible when money was in short supply. One outstanding case in point was a translation entitled *Xiandai Tuerqi zhengzhi* 《现代土耳其政治》 [Modern Turkish politics] done purely for the finan-



cial rewards.<sup>19</sup> Money thus earned meant that he could afford to translate what he pleased for his own magazine, without payment, of course. Without doubt his translations of poets such as Altolaguirre—a contemporary of Lorca—were certainly useful to the Chinese literary world who without Dai's efforts would have been ignorant of the new poetry being produced in Spain during a fecund literary period.<sup>20</sup>

The main event in Dai Wangshu's literary life in 1937 was the January publication of *Wangshu shigao* «望舒诗稿» [Wangshu's poetry manuscripts]. Any of his aficionados expecting new poems would, however, have been disappointed, for, barring four new poems, the volume was an anthology of previously published poetry and would only have served to put his poems back into circulation. The volume did, nevertheless, contain an appendix of the six poems that Dai had translated into French for *Cahiers du Sud*.<sup>21</sup>

Eleven years would pass before Dai's next and ultimate volume of poetry appeared, a fact not so surprising when one considers that China would be in a continuous ferment of war, both international and civil, for the next decade.

The summer of 1937 saw yet another advance in the encroaching Japanese occupation of China. The Marco Polo Bridge incident provided the pretext for the southward invasion of China by the Japanese. In August 1937 the Japanese reached and encircled Shang-

hai and despite Chinese resistance the metropolis finally fell in November. By that time the effect on the literary world had been devastating; paper shortages had forced most large magazines to cease publication, the last number of *Xin shi* had appeared in July.

An editorial appearing in the English language *China Critic* in November reported the situation thus:

During the first two weeks of hostilities the Book St. of Shanghai, or Foochow Rd., experienced a period of unusual stagnancy and trepidation. Many bookstores temporarily suspended their business...

22

One happy event in Dai Wangshu's life took place while Shanghai was under siege. Dai's first child, a girl, was born on 1 October and was named Yongsu 咏素.<sup>23</sup> Dai lived on in Shanghai for some months but life, and earning a living, had become virtually impossible.

Politically, however, these unfortunate circumstances brought some compensation when the United Front Agreement—between the Communists and the K.M.T.—was concluded after the Xi'an Incident.

As far as the literary world was concerned the unity, albeit nominal, between the K.M.T. and the Chinese Communist Party in opposing the Japanese, meant a relaxation of the hard C.P. literary line which demanded a literature of class struggle. The new but temporary mood of freedom made life easier for

Dai and enabled him to co-operate actively in anti-Japanese resistance work among intellectuals when he moved to Hong Kong and no doubt in the spirit he had advocated when writing of the A.E.A.R. 'popular frontism' in France.

*Exile in Hong Kong*  
1938-1946

A weary Asia out of sight  
Is tugging gently at the night  
.....  
Day breaks upon the world we know  
Of war and wastefulness and woe,

W.H.Auden, *New Year Letter*

From 1938 until his arrest in 1941 Dai divided his time between anti-Japanese propaganda work and the editing of literary supplements. Although still producing literary translations, his poetic output became spasmodic. After his release from gaol opportunities for writing and publishing were scarce until 1944 when he was once again invited to be a literary editor.

.....

Dai arrived in Hong Kong in 1938, probably in May.<sup>24</sup> It was in May 1938 that Dai first attended a meeting of writers and artists exiled in Hong Kong, a gathering known as the *Liu gang wenyijie zuotanhui* 留港文艺界生談会 which had been established in February of that year.<sup>25</sup> Friends and colleagues of Dai's who also attended these meetings included Xu Chi 徐迟 and

his brother-in-law Mu Shiying 穆时英.<sup>26</sup>

It was not long before Dai found some regular employment, for on 1 August 1938, the newspaper *Xingdao ribao* 《星岛日报》 was founded and Dai became editor of its literary page or supplement: *Xingsuo* 《星座》 which first appeared on page 14 of the newspaper and included contributions by two well-known literary figures, Mao Dun and Yu Dafu 郁达夫.<sup>27</sup> Dai's own contributions were, in the main, translations. One in particular is notable in that it reminds us of Dai's early literary influence: a translated selection of some of Francis Jammes' longer poems, which was printed as a tribute to the French poet along with a notice of his death on 1 November, in the 11 December issue of the newspaper.

The only poem of Dai's to have appeared in *Xingsuo* was 'Yuanri zhufu' 元旦祝福 (New year blessing). The poem seems to have been written in the early hours of the morning, just before the paper was 'put to bed', as the poem, dated New Year's Day appeared in the 1 January edition of the newspaper.

It is a simple poem sympathizing with the Chinese people and their suffering. It does not extol the people to be brave but rather recognizes their plight and acknowledges their courage:

The New Year brings us new hope.  
Blessings! From our earth  
Blood-stained, scorched, cracked earth,  
An even stronger life will grow.

The New Year brings us new strength,  
Blessings! Our people,  
Staunch people, brave people,

Tribulation will bring freedom and liberation.

That is the version as published in *Zainan de suiyue* some years later.<sup>28</sup> The last line as it appeared in *Xingsuo* was as follows:

我为你自由歌唱。

I sing for your liberty.

29

The poem indicates that when Dai did decide to compose a poem he felt committed to recording some relevant sentiment. This poem was, however, the only poem he was to write in 1939 and the only poem showing any political consciousness until after his imprisonment in 1941-42. Dai was clearly not at ease moulding his poetic talent to carry the burden of political messages and perhaps preferred as Gide to remain silent poetically and use his energies otherwise in the furtherance of his beliefs, or perhaps, again like Gide, he simply found it impossible to write creatively when engaged in work of a political nature no matter how much he believed in the cause.<sup>30</sup>

Dai was pleased, or at least not averse, to engage in propaganda work: co-operating with Communist and other progressive writers for the common good. This was the sort of politically co-operative role he had envisaged for the 'Third Kind of Man'; a role previously unacceptable to the Chinese Communist Party when Dai had advocated it while in France, but which was now encouraged under the flag of National Defence Literature.

This was the kind of common front position that Gide had apparently willingly adopted—at a psychological cost then unknown to outsiders.

Dai's belief in this kind of unity was not new, it was the Communist Party's position which had tactically changed. Ironically, the French Communist Party's—and in particular Vaillant-Couturier's—tolerance and advocacy of this kind of arrangement was by 1939 redundant and indeed many Communists in France had been arrested as a result of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and its ramifications.

Dai's own willingness however, does not seem to have stemmed from any shift towards the Communist Party. For instance, in his literary activities, he still pursued his own proclivities, as is demonstrated by the devotion of so many column inches of *Xingzuo* to the commemoration of Francis Jammes' death.

The general shape of Dai's literary and political personality had been formed at an early age and although his personality may have filled out it seems not to have changed fundamentally. It certainly did not 'develop' — as some present day mainland commentators would have it—into something more progressive, with Dai's desire to see China rid of its Japanese occupiers. Dai, as we have seen, had throughout his life been a man of the left and by any objective criteria did not become any more or less 'progressive'.<sup>31</sup> He was, naturally, more active politically during this

period because of contemporary events. This was a time of war and like many thousands of others both in China and elsewhere Dai felt obliged to do what he could to aid the resistance against what was commonly perceived as an international fascist threat and a struggle for national survival.

Dai had already seen the dangers of fascism in Europe and besides his work for resistance against Japan also leant space in his literary supplement to literary expressions of opposition to fascism in Europe, most notably translations of poets who supported the Republican cause in Spain. This kind of line was not forced upon him by the Communist Party. For over two years Dai attended meetings, gave advice and generally did what he could together with other writers residing in Hong Kong to maintain a united opposition to the Japanese occupation of China and yet did not, as he had not done before, surrender his critical independence; considering the place and the circumstances he could hardly be obliged or required to do so. Indeed it was not by the Communist literary or political establishment that his freedom of expression was challenged but by an altogether different authority.

From 1938 to 1941, Dai's main concern was with trying to edit an anti-Japanese literary supplement. But throughout this period the administration in Hong Kong did not recognize Japan as an enemy and so did not encourage anti-Japanese publications. It

was not until the eve of the Japanese invasion of Hong Kong itself that Dai was free of censorship by which time it was, of course, too late.

One of the few autobiographical pieces that Dai ever wrote happens to concern his involvement with *Xingdao ribao* and in particular his frustration with the censors during this pre-invasion period. In this article written to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the newspaper, Dai recounts how he came to be involved with the preparations for the establishment of the newspaper and his subsequent editorship of its literary supplement.<sup>32</sup>

According to this account, although Dai still had his income from the committee which had commissioned the translation of *Don Quixote*, he was not planning to stay in Hong Kong for good but rather to make sure his family was secure there and then proceed to the unoccupied zone of mainland China to participate in resistance work among the literary and artistic world which at the time was organizing the All China Literary and Artistic Circles' Resistance Association. It was but a chance occurrence that made him alter his plans and remain in Hong Kong. Hesitating for several days he finally decided to take the post as editor of the literary supplement of *Xingdao ribao*, and from that moment gave his advice and generally assisted in setting up the new newspaper, which appeared in August.

The chance occurrence was a meeting with an



acquaintance, Lu Danlin 陆丹林 who thought Dai suitable for the post of literary editor of the planned newspaper. The prospective newspaper's proprietor was a certain Hu Wenhui 胡文虎, whose son Hu Hao 胡好 had been given overall responsibility for the venture. Dai was amazed at the youth of Hu Hao—he was only nineteen—and yet surprised at the young man's ability. Hu Hao accepted Dai's idea of what the literary supplement should be and gave him carte blanche.

The title of the literary supplement, *Xingzuo* 《星座》, stemmed from the hope that it would be seen as a bright constellation in the southern sky and also from the desire to have writers come forward with their ideas and opinions as if it were teashop attached to *Xingdao ribao*.<sup>33</sup>

As for contributions, there was no lack of famous authors willing to submit manuscripts, indeed they flooded in:

As far as manuscripts were concerned there was not the slightest difficulty, literary friends everywhere sent in manuscripts and those authors residing in Hong Kong for the time being, also kept supplying manuscripts. In fact, it can be said that there is not one well-known author who has not written an article for *Xingzuo*.

稿子方面一点也没有困难，文友们在四面八方向寄了稿子来而流亡香港的作家们，也不断地供给稿件，我们竟可以说没有一位知名的作家是没有在星座里写过文章的。

During the first few months of the newspaper's existence there were indeed many celebrated authors who contributed. The second issue carried an article by Du Heng dealing with Hitler and Nazism entitled 'The Fascist threat' and also a contribution from Xu Chi 徐迟, a fellow-poet and old acquaintance of Dai's.<sup>35</sup> Publishing articles about German, Italian and Spanish fascism was one way of alluding to the Japanese militarists without attracting the opprobrium of the censor.

The fourth number of the supplement contained articles by the poet Jin Kemu 金克木 and the fiction writer Shen Congwen 沈从文. Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 naturally contributed as did Dai's brother-in-law Mu Shiying 穆时英.<sup>36</sup> On the whole, it would seem that it was Dai's reputation and personal connections that ensured a steady supply of material.

The supplement—indeed the paper as a whole—had an anti-fascist bent and in particular an anti-Japanese stance. Thus, it attracted the attention of the censors, as Dai recalls in his anniversary piece:

What gave me the greatest trouble was the system of censorship at that time. ... all kinds of unimaginable annoyances were liable to arise at any time. It was as if *Xingsuo* were currently the only object of censorship. At the time one was not allowed to use the word 'enemy' in newspapers, 'Japanese bandits' was even more out of the question. On *Xingsuo*, even though I went to great pains to avoid it, I could not evade the censor's pencil. Sometimes it was a few words, sometimes one or two paragraphs, and sometimes

时嚙是纸用避剂，  
当的座板不力笔节，  
是到星更竭的两  
，不平时冠则官一  
的家似当日星查是  
烦想。在，我核时  
麻你生，的，过有  
多种发标字上躲，  
最种时因“数座能字  
大，随的用星不个篇  
最度会一准在总几全  
我制都唯不但是至  
予查，时是了，时时  
给核味当上说免有有

Obviously Dai was genuinely frustrated by these censorship measures and was irked at being forced to refrain from publishing freely—a feeling not unknown to Dai, who had previously had his publishing ventures in Shanghai closed down by the K.M.T..

Under this system, *Xingzuo* could not help but sacrifice many outstanding manuscripts.... This kind of trouble was maintained right up until the last day of my editorship of *Xingzuo*. The day-to-day work of three years was a "cold war" with the censor.

在这一点上，我们很同意。这个制度之下，星座的颜色是出稿的草稿，不是正式稿。星座的编制工作，是很复杂的。在这一点上，我们很同意。这个制度之下，星座的颜色是出稿的草稿，不是正式稿。星座的编制工作，是很复杂的。

Thus, together with attending resistance meetings, was Dai's life filled.

After the establishment of the All China Literature and Artistic Circles' Association's Hong Kong Branch, Dai undertook several tasks connected with the the propagation of resistance ideas and was also responsible for the handling of research and foreign literature for the new body.<sup>39</sup> He also edited the association's newsletter *Wen xie zhouban* 文协周刊 which had no permanent home but rather appeared in several Hong Kong newspapers.<sup>40</sup>

Apart from such editorial duties Dai also spoke and lectured from time to time. On the 18 June 1939, for instance, he talked on future relations between Hong Kong and mainland cultural movements at a meeting of the *liu gang wenhuaren chahuahui* 留港文化人茶話會 [Discussion group of people involved in culture residing in Hong Kong].<sup>41</sup>

In August Dai was involved in co-editing, with Ai Qing 艾青, the magazine *Dingdian* 《頂點》. One or two issues of this potentially interesting cultural resistance organ were produced but unfortunately no copies have survived.<sup>42</sup>

In September Dai helped to establish another organization of 'ex-patriate' literary figures; styled the Chinese Cultural Association, *Zhongguo wenhua xiejinhui* 中國文化協進會, it was not strictly a left-wing organization like the All China Literary and Artistic Circles' Association, established the previous March.<sup>43</sup> It seems that Dai was quite content to be

associated with this grouping and even became its deputy head of propaganda.<sup>44</sup> There was indeed a degree of co-operation between left and right although at times, as after the Wannan Incident 皖南事变 in 1941, animosity broke through to the surface. Dai himself was no friend of the K.M.T. and nor was the paper he represented and both came under fire in 1941.<sup>45</sup> The apparent contradiction in Dai's attachment to literary organizations of both left and right is explained by the, albeit fragile and uncertain, United Front between the K.M.T. and the C.P. at this time. Although at times attacked, more by the K.M.T. than the Communists, Dai attempted personally to put into practice the ideals of the United Front and did liaison work between the two sides.<sup>46</sup>

Shortly after the founding of the Chinese Cultural Association, Dai was involved in yet another publishing project: a resistance organ to be published in English. Apparently Dai started the new publication on instructions received from Mao Dun. The editorial team brought together several left-wingers: Feng Yidai 冯亦代, Xu Chi 徐迟 and Ye Junjian 叶君健.<sup>47</sup> The publication entitled *Chinese Writers* was published two or three times. Feng Yidai recalls that two issues had come out and a third was planned when he left Hong Kong—apparently the advertising revenue attracted was sufficient to contemplate continued production—but the magazine was closed down by the censors. Unfortunately Feng has no copies of the magazine and it

has proven unavailable elsewhere.<sup>48</sup>

In 1940, Dai started to lecture on a regular basis and talked at classes for young people organized by the Literature and Arts Association, *Wenyi xiehui* 文艺协会, the re-organization committee of which he was a member.<sup>49</sup> According to Feng Yidai, he was very enthusiastic about this aspect of the Association's work and very much enjoyed teaching literature to youngsters.<sup>50</sup>

April of 1940 seems to have been a particularly busy month. On 14 April Dai gave the annual report of the *Wenyi xiehui*'s work, on the seventeenth he became a member of the propaganda section's editorial committee and finally was elected Director of the *Wenyi xiehui* for 1940.<sup>51</sup> On 27 April Dai was responsible for the publication of a pamphlet entitled *Suqing maiguo wenyi* 肃清卖国文艺 [Do away with traitorous literature and art], sponsored by the joint committee *lianyi huiwei* 联谊会委 of the *Wenyi xiehui* and *Zhongguo wenhua xiejinhui* organizations.<sup>52</sup>

Also in April, *Gengyun* 耕耘 [Cultivate], a magazine that Dai had helped to establish, was published.<sup>53</sup> It appeared twice before financial problems forced its closure. The first issue had been quite successful and sold two thousand copies.<sup>54</sup>

Of the two numbers, the first is replete with drawings of soldiers and peasants, cartoons mocking collaborators and fascist dictators and the like. The

advantages of using so much pictorial material would appear to be: to reach as many people as possible, including the many illiterate members of Hong Kong's population and further to avoid the wrath of the censor who tended to concentrate on the written word.

The magazine was concerned wholly with propaganda and there is nothing of any literary value in its pages. The second issue which appeared in August 1940 commemorates Lu Xun's birthday and so naturally in addition to cartoons there is an abundance of woodcuts. There is nothing in either issue written by Dai.

In June Dai again lectured for the *Wenyi xiehui* literature course.<sup>55</sup> The title of his lecture on this occasion was 'On studying Balzac.' After which Dai's time was largely taken up with preparatory work for the commemorative meeting in honour of Lu Xun's birthday: 鲁迅六诞辰纪念会. Apart from a celebration of the great man's birth, the event was intended to publicise the anti-Japanese war of resistance. Dai organized the registration, discussion meetings and did all the liaison work with government officials.<sup>56</sup>

Dai's position vis-à-vis the two literary-artistic associations seems to have been one of continuing unbiased co-operation, for in December 1940 he became a member of the Chinese Cultural Association's Committee for the Promotion of the National Language, *Guoyu tuijin weiyuanhui* 國語推進委員會.<sup>57</sup>

And yet over the subsequent six months, Dai devoted most of his time to the *Wenyi xiehui*. For instance, in March 1941 Dai was the Hong Kong representative to the All China Literary and Artistic Circles' Association's third Council meeting.<sup>58</sup> If Lu Weiluan is correct in her assertion that the Chinese Cultural Association represented the right, it would seem strange that this organization should have organised a reception, a month after the Wannan Incident, to welcome the well-known communist writer Xia Yan 夏衍 to Hong Kong—a reception also attended by Dai. It must be assumed therefore that the situation in Hong Kong was different and that the Chinese Cultural Association in Hong Kong was not enthusiastically supporting the K.M.T.'s new initiative of hostility towards the left.<sup>59</sup>

In June Dai wrote a poem which seems to have been inspired by the loneliness he was experiencing after his wife had left him the previous year. Mu Lijuan had departed for Shanghai with their daughter in the winter of 1940. According to Jin Kemu, she returned to Shanghai with no intention of returning. She apparently disliked Hong Kong and could not speak Cantonese. Dai of course could not follow her.<sup>60</sup>

The last few lines of the poem 'Zhi yinghuo' 致螢火 (To the glow-worm), written on 26 June 1941, indicate the poet's unhappiness:

Glow-worm, glow-worm,  
Give me just a fine beam of light —



Enough to bear the burden of memory,  
Enough to swallow up grief!

萤火、萤火、  
给一缕细细的光线——  
够担得起记忆，  
够把沉重来吞！

But before the year was out problems other than his married life would loom large. The war had been moving closer to Hong Kong but the final blow came on 8 December 1941.

The Japanese military machine had gone into action once more, bombing Pearl Harbour and occupying the International Settlement in Shanghai. Although this meant the entry of the United States into World War II and an end to censorship in Hong Kong, there was little to rejoice about, for the Japanese invaded the British Colony of Hong Kong on 19 December and although local forces held out for a week the Island finally fell on Christmas Day 1941. Dai recalls the final hours in his anniversary article for *Xingdao ribao*:

...one day, early in the morning of 7 December 1942, the Pacific War broke out. Although I usually started work after lunch, that day was an exception as I arrived at the newspaper office in the morning. As the news about the war was verified, the office was in noisy confusion. The enemy had started bombing. That day it was decided to turn *Xingzuo* into a special wartime extra....

The evening of the second day, carrying a quilt under my arm, I walked down Pokfulam Road to the newspaper office. My duties were no longer editing the supplement but translating the telegraphic code into Chinese. Because of the gunfire, some colleagues could not get to the office, so when manpower was short, one had to do whatever needed to be done. From then

on, braving the gunfire, during the day, I would go down into Central and search out the news, at night, I would translate the telegraphic messages in the office. Living this tense life, I forgot about home, sometimes I even forgot to eat. da

清的在  
的在  
林付关时白在  
日则倒实炸...扶是时我间记  
七虽却证难判薄再火山,夜忘  
月。我是始特,不炮车后,我  
二了天恩开时被己为人以恩,  
十来文消人战棉务因在此淌中,  
年出,的教成着快,从听  
一发的事。变抹的了。馆。探生  
四爆炮线的改线线电到了。去的俄。  
九争开。洪庭。译能做环张饥  
一战争馆洪庭。译能做环张饥  
洋下报乱定夜馆而已么到在记  
天平在了是决天报,事什火。忘  
一本是到里的二到辑同不炮电  
有,作展馆天第行编的能着译时  
...是工早报当步的有不冒中

62

The situation deteriorated, the news wires fell dead, the fighting got closer. The newspaper kept going even though there was now practically no source of news. The fighting had been going on for a fortnight:

...I remember it was three days before the surrender of Hong Kong, the newspaper office was already surrounded on all sides by gunfire, in fact the newspaper could no longer be got out. The news got worse and worse...

...我记得是香港投降前三天吧,报馆的四周已被炮火所包围,报纸实在不能出下去了。消息越来越坏。

63

The decision was taken to cease publication and the reporters and workers began to say their last farewells and disperse. Just then, a deceptive and inaccurate piece of news came in: the Chinese Army had broken through to the New Territories:

When the news came in, there were only Zhou Xin and myself in the newspaper's offices. We thought the news was unreliable, but we had to publish it any-

way. However, our colleagues in the print room had already dispersed, we had no way to get it published. But we had to carry out our final day's duty. Then we found a blank sheet of paper and wrote in red ink as large as we could: "Accurate News, Our Army as far as New Territories. Japanese bandits scattering, Hong Kong guaranteed Out of Danger." We went and stuck it up in the doorway of the newspaper offices and then the two of us silently left.

消息到来的时候，在报馆的只有我和周  
新兄。我们想这消息是不可靠的，但是我  
们总得将它发表出去。然而，排字房的工  
友散了，我们没将它发表出去的方法。可  
是我们应该尽我们最后一天的责任。于是，  
找到了一张白报纸，我们用红墨水尽量大  
的写着：“确息，我军已开到新界，日寇  
望风披靡，本港可保无虞”，把它张贴到  
报馆门口去。然后两人沉默地离开了这报  
馆。

64

Dai was arrested by the Japanese authorities for his well-known anti-Japanese activities and in late December was thrown into gaol. Even though released three months later the consequences for his health were to prove ruinous.<sup>65</sup>

The impressions of his prison experience are related in the poem, dated 27 April 1942, 'Yu zhong ti bi' 狱中题壁 (Written on a prison wall).<sup>66</sup> Ironically Dai's imprisonment and writing of this poem is one of Dai's saving graces as far as post-Liberation Chinese critics are concerned. Had he avoided gaol and lived longer as a consequence, his reputation would have been even more tainted than it has been.

Although Dai's incarceration made him some-

thing of a martyr in the literary world, it also led directly to his developing the crippling affliction of asthma which gradually grew worse in Dai's case. One writer has described the horror of the disease graphically:

Suddenly something grips me round the chest, tightening like a belt, fighting for mastery. I struggle, gasp, whoop for breath, fighting back. Yet my lungs are full, not of air but of another force inside, expanding outwards. I am locked, unable to breathe in or out. I can't lie down, I prop myself up or sit leaning forward with my heart galloping and shoulders hunched, head down, speechless, panting for every ounce of fresh air I can get.<sup>67</sup>

There was, and is, no cure for this disease which can, and in Dai's case did, lead to death.<sup>68</sup>

Sometime after coming out of gaol Dai is said to have been formally divorced from Mu Lijuan.<sup>69</sup> Although he soon remarried, his thoughts remained with his first wife and their daughter; most of the poems he wrote after his release from gaol until 1945 concerned memories of former halcyon days with his family. Perhaps his new found leisure together with his new disability brought about his return to poetic activity.

Marcel Proust, the most famous of asthmatic authors, touches on a sentiment relevant to Dai's condition. In 'Remembrance of Things Past' he writes of how illness can enhance and encourage memory, his great theme. More probably, Dai's new found productivity was the expression of a genuine sense of loss and unhappiness.

After 'Wo yong canyuan de shouzhang' 我用残损  
的手掌 (With my injured hand), dated 3 July 1942,  
a poem which managed to craft sentiments of nostalgia  
and patriotism into an impressionistic yet vivid tabl-  
eau of personal reflections and hopes, Dai next com-  
posed the poem 'Xinyuan' 心願 (Desire) on 28 Jan 1943.  
The latter can be read on both a personal and a univ-  
ersal level. It deals with family life as it had been  
before enemy occupation and as the poet hoped it might  
be again. Later the good times he writes of, returned  
for others but not for Dai himself.<sup>70</sup>

Soon after writing 'Desire', with all hope of  
a reconciliation with Mu Lijuan gone, he married once  
more. There is a suspicion that this was not a mar-  
riage made in Heaven, for four months later a daughter  
—Dai Yongxu 戴詠絮— was born to Dai and his new bride  
Yang Lizhen 杨丽珍, a young Cantonese.<sup>71</sup>

A few months later Dai wrote two poems entit-  
led 'Dengdai' 等待 (Waiting) dated 31 December 1943 and  
18 January 1944, which in bitter and heart-felt lang-  
uage outline the suffering of waiting; waiting for the  
return of loved ones, of friends and waiting for the  
restoration of normality. Again the poems carry a  
universal meaning.

The subsequent poems of 1944 are far more  
personal. 'Guo jiu ju (chu gao)' 过旧居(初稿) (Passing  
by the old house (first draft)) and 'Guo jiu ju' 过旧  
居 (Passing by the old house), dated respectively 2

and 10 March 1944, spring directly from the poet's reminiscences when passing by his old house.<sup>72</sup> Feng Yidai recalls the house, situated in Hong Kong Island's mid-levels, and its pleasant aspect.<sup>73</sup>

Dai's new marriage seems to have provoked rather than dampened his longing for the past. Dai's traditional and favourite theme of nostalgia seems to be now imbued with a sense of personal experience.

However much we read into these poems about Dai's personal life, it would seem that an absence of two years from the publishing world and the daily routine of the newspaper office had provided a respite providing occasion for reflection on his own and his nation's suffering. Disaster had rekindled the poetic imagination.

Yet soon Dai was to re-embark on his career of literary journalism, for in January 1944 he was invited, together with Ye Lingfeng 葉靈風, to edit a literary Sunday supplement for *Huaqiao ribao* 《華僑日報》, [Overseas Chinese daily]. The supplement *Wenyi zhoukan* 《文藝週刊》 appeared for the first time on 30 January 1944 and remained under Dai's editorship for a year and a half, during which time seventy-two issues were published.<sup>74</sup> The newspaper was a modest affair with only four pages of news—the colony was, of course, still under Japanese military administration and so paper was in short supply and censorship strict—and yet the literary supplement filled one half of a page

every Sunday. Because of censorship Dai devoted much of the column space to translations of European literature. Mostly Dai translated his old favourites Azorin, Jammes, Fort and Baroja, but he also now turned to earlier poets such as Baudelaire and Apollinaire.<sup>75</sup>

The first issue carried one of Dai's own poems, 'Zhi yinghuo' (To the glow-worm), written two and a half years previously. In subsequent issues Dai published several more of his own new poems, but obviously none of the 'resistance' poems. Dai had previously complained of the British censors, but there was absolutely no chance of hoodwinking the Japanese censors so as to promote the resistance cause in the pages of *Huaqiao ribao*.

In the second issue of the supplement we find one of Dai's rare statements on poetic theory. Entitled "Shilun lingzha" 詩論零札 (Some odd notes on poetic theory), this piece was the second and final formulation of his views on the writing of poetry. The article presents Dai's ideas on the nature of poetry, the relationship between form and content and an affirmation of his belief that poetry should be translatable.<sup>76</sup>

There is also in *Wenyi zhoukan*, evidence of Dai's reawakened interest in classical Chinese literature, for example there is a long piece on the Tang story, *Liwa zhuan* 《李娃傳》 (The story of Liwa).<sup>77</sup> It

was through this renewed interest in classical literature that Dai came to correspond with, and later befriend the young Wu Xiaoling.

The 4 June 1944 number of the supplement carried two poems, one, 'Zai tian qingle de shihou' 在天清的时候 (When the sky is clear), was written two days before publication and the other, 'Shi zhangnü' 示长女 (For my eldest daughter) proved to be a draft for a substantially altered poem, later revised and dated 27 June 1944. The latter is a pastiche of memories of life as it had been, emphasizing the role his daughter played in his enjoyment of life.<sup>78</sup>

Written about the same time is a poem dedicated to his wife; dated 9 June 1944, it was published in *Wenyi shoukan* number 33. The poem 'Zeng nei' 赠内 (For my wife) raises the question—in the light of the attachment shown to his first wife and family in earlier poems—which wife? It seems possible that Dai still regarded Mu Lijuan as his wife. One wonders what Yang Lizhen made of all this.

Whomever the intended subject of the poem is, it provides an explanation of the impetus which led Dai to write poetry at this time. Only in times of unhappiness and misfortune does he put pen to paper, the happy times being marked by silence:

The poemless blank page,  
The happy years;  
Because my bitter verse  
Just registers the milestones  
of disaster.



空白的诗帖，  
 幸福的年岁；  
 因为我苦闷的诗节，  
 只为灾难树里程碑。<sup>79</sup>

Dai did not again write poetry concerning his personal life, and indeed only wrote a further three poems in his life. Unfortunately the "poemless blank page" of the last five years of his life did not represent "happy years" as yet more misfortune would befall the hapless poet.

'Zeng nei' probably provided the idea for the title for all these poems when finally they were collected and published in 1948 as *Zainan de suiyue* 《灾难的岁月》 [Years of disaster].

Published alongside 'Zeng nei' was a poem entitled 'Mubian zhan' 墓边占 (An impromptu graveside verse). The poem, which later appeared as 'Xiao Hong mupan kouzhan' 消红墓畔只占 (Impromptu verse at Xiao Hong's graveside), was a four line poem written after a secret pilgrimage to the woman writer's grave. Xiao Hong had come to Hong Kong in 1940 and died there two years later; the fact that she was a Communist writer necessitated the anonymity of the original title.<sup>80</sup>

Marking another 'milestone' in China's and Dai's fortunes, 'Kouhao' 口号 (Battlecry) welcomes the Allied bombers which were engaged in the elimination of Japanese installations in Hong Kong. Such bombing unavoidably threatened the lives of Chinese civilians too, but Dai intimates in this poem that he would pre-

fer such an end rather than see the continuation of Japanese occupation.<sup>81</sup>

The occupation would, however, continue for another seven months and in the meantime, Dai could only carry on with his translation and editorial work. In May there was a boost for the morale of Hong Kong's population when the Allied victory in Europe brought the war there to an end. The attention of the allied armies was now fixed on the only remaining Axis power and the war in the Pacific theatre.

Dai realising the significance of the German defeat wrote a poem on 31 May which hit an optimistic chord. The last poem of Dai's poetic career was entitled 'Oucheng' 偶成 (Impromptu) and can be read on more than one level but however it is read it conveys a sense of hope. In retrospect Dai's optimism was ill founded. The poem looks back to the good times before the war, but Dai would not live to see any significant upturn in his fortunes. Dai, however, is not thinking of his own fortune but rather of such fundamental good things as "glowing smiles" and "bright cries of joy" when he writes:

These good things cannot disappear,  
Because all good things exist forever,  
They are just frozen the same as ice,  
And one day just like flowers they  
will blossom again.

这些好东西都不会消失，  
因为一切好东西都永远存在，  
它们只是象冰一样凝结，  
而有一天会象花一样重开。

A defiantly optimistic poem with which to end a poetic

corpus so rich in pessimism and despondency!

After editing seventy-two issues of *Wenyi zhoukan*, Dai and Ye Lingfeng left the publication following a wage dispute. In June the two took charge of another literary supplement, for *Xiangdao ribao* 《*香岛日报*》, with the title *Riyao wenyi* 《*日曜文艺*》 [Sunlight literature and arts] and in the first issue, of 1 July 1945, Dai, Ye and other regular contributors to *Wenyi xhoukan* explain that they abandoned the supplement because the management refused to increase editorial wages and the fees paid to contributors.<sup>83</sup>

The pattern of the new supplement closely followed that established in *Wenyi zhoukan*. Dai's own contributions were again mainly translations of European poets and authors: Azorin, of course, and Baudelaire, a selection of whose poems would later be published as a book. But also, in the few issues extant, we find long pieces by Dai about the Paris book-stalls through which he had browsed years earlier when living in France.<sup>84</sup> Even more interesting is a piece entitled "Shan ju za zhui" 山居杂缀 (Odd fragments on living on the mountain) which consists of a series of poetic vignettes entitled: 'Shan feng' 山风 (mountain wind), 'Yu' 雨 (Rain), 'Shu' 树 (Trees) and a longer piece, 'Shiqu de yuanzi' 失去的园子 (Lost garden). These vignettes were never re-published and until recently were unknown to historians of Chinese literature.<sup>85</sup>

From the internal evidence of the texts we can

establish that the time to which Dai is referring is the same as that referred to in his poem 'Shi zhangnǔ' which provides a sentimental account of his life with his former wife and first child. This period of apparent happiness was some time between 1938 and 1940—when his wife left him and returned to Shanghai. In these pieces the poet still writes fondly of his garden and his house facing the sea and the bluish green of the pine trees. Almost poems in prose, these reminiscences deal with a life which is lost, a life lived before the occupation of Hong Kong, a life lived with another woman in beautiful natural surroundings totally dissimilar to the hurly-burly of Hong Kong's Central district to which he later moved.

These are the last glimpses into Dai's poetic imagination that remain. They reveal a man still looking back with nostalgia to the good old days.

The pieces seem to have been written shortly before publication in July 1945. In the third of the four pieces, Dai recounts how he took his daughter to revisit the places and things so dear to him in his past, and searching for his favourite tree, finds it chopped down. Counting up the rings on the severed tree trunk finds they come to "forty-two! Exactly my age." 四十二圈!正是我的年岁. Perhaps this is poetic licence for even when taking into account the Chinese method of counting years of age, Dai should not have been more than forty-one. Moreover the poet re-

fers to this expedition as having taken place in "the autumn of last year," 去年秋天. If the autumn is the autumn of 1944, then the discrepancy is even greater; either Dai is mistaken about his age, or all his friends and the literary historians have incorrectly fixed his year of birth as 1905.

As for the poetic sentiment expressed in the pieces, the last line of 'Trees' captures the reflective mood of loss and happiness, recalling the mood of much of Dai's poetry:

Tree, who is the more unfortunate, is it  
you, or is it me?

樹啊、誰更不幸一點，是你呢，還是我？

86

'Odd fragments on living on the mountain' is the last piece of original writing of Dai's extant. He continued with his translations but no other literary efforts either in prose or poetry have been uncovered.

On 6 and 9 August, atomic bombs were employed against Japan. The Second World War was brought to a swift conclusion and with it the years of Chinese resistance against the Japanese occupation. British authority was restored in Hong Kong in mid-August. On 29 August British troops landed in Hong Kong.

Dai was once more a free agent, free again to publish as he wished, rid of the burden of censorship and no longer obliged to devote himself to the promotion of resistance literature. And yet Dai did not seize the opportunity to write poetry again; the

Proustian muse of illness seemed to give no further inspiration to Dai Wangshu.

On 19 December Dai's third daughter was born and in March of 1946 he returned with his wife and two children to Shanghai after an absence of eight years. He returned with a new wife and family, his health broken and to a very different environment.<sup>87</sup>

*Years of Decline*  
1946-1950

He saw; but blasted with excess  
of light,  
Closed his eyes in endless night.

Gray, *The Progress of Poesy*

The last five years of Dai's life were barren as far as his writing of poetry was concerned. His health was rapidly deteriorating and the respite from the years of hardship and harassment in Hong Kong would be all too brief. In 1948 after having made a living teaching and translating, he was forced to flee once more to Hong Kong. His personal life was beset by troubles and suffering emotionally and physically he returned to China in 1949 and died in the spring of 1950.

\*

After returning to Shanghai Dai secured a post at the Shanghai Normal Polytechnic School 上海师范大学, a teachers' training college.<sup>88</sup>

Feng Yidai and Xu Chi visited Dai after he had

arrived back in Shanghai and found that he had aged and was suffering acutely with asthma.<sup>89</sup>

Feng Yidai recalls that his asthma attacks were now a daily occurrence:

As soon as evening came around...it would start. As soon as he'd eaten it started...he had problems sleeping, he couldn't sleep well.

一到晚上...就要开始了，一吃过晚饭他就要开始了...睡觉有问题，不能睡好觉。<sup>90</sup>

Nevertheless, he went around his daily business of teaching and translating. In the winter Lou Shiyi 楼适夷 introduced a young man by the name of Gu Zuhong 顾祖洪 to Dai. Gu was seeking assistance with French to Chinese translation. Dai agreed to tutor him on a regular basis and every two weeks during 1946 and 1947 they met to go over Gu's translations.

Unfortunately, Gu admits, he was too young and naive to take full advantage of his acquaintance with Dai and too young also to realize the significance of all that was going on around him. Nevertheless Dai made an impression on Gu as being an extremely kind-hearted man.

Gu also recalls Dai's fascination for the poet Baudelaire and during the time he was in contact with Dai, the poet was making a close and faithful translation of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, word by word, line by line, perhaps only translating two lines a day.<sup>91</sup>

Throughout 1947 Dai continued to teach—in the main, classical Chinese literature—and to translate.

He continued to do translations of the poems of Lorca and Verhaeren, and the short stories of Azorin and translated also his declared favourite poets, Super-vielle and Eluard.<sup>92</sup> In March 1947, Dai's painstaking work on Baudelaire's poems was concluded with the publication in Shanghai of *E zhi hua duoying* 《*爱之花掇英*》 [Selections from 'Fleurs du Mal'].<sup>93</sup>

In the summer of 1947, Dai gave Gu Zuhong an introduction to his acquaintances in the Hong Kong film world and Gu went off there to make films. It would not, however, be long before Dai, as a known associate of Communist writers, would be obliged to follow him there to evade arrest by the K.M.T. government.<sup>94</sup>

In February of 1948, Dai's last and long awaited volume, *Zainan de suiyue* 《*灾难的岁月*》 [Years of disaster] was published. Less than three months later, in May, the K.M.T. authorities put out a warrant for Dai's arrest and he fled once more to Hong Kong.<sup>95</sup>

During his second exile in Hong Kong, Dai did not—apart from a few pieces for his old newspaper *Xingdao ribao*—write or publish a great deal. He supported himself and his family by private tutoring, living at first with his mother-in-law. He later moved to the house of Hu Wenhui 胡文虎, the proprietor, it will be remembered, of *Xingdao ribao*.

Another marital disaster was about to strike. Dai, after acting as a tutor in Hu Wenhui's household



moved into the home of a student of his surnamed Cai 蔡. Soon afterwards his wife, Yang Lizhen, eloped with the young man, abandoning Dai and their two children. Dai's wife was about twenty years younger than her husband and so her action cannot really be conceived as baby-snatching. This occurred towards the end of 1948.

While trying to persuade his wife to return, Dai meanwhile lodged with the writer Ye Lingfeng until his return to the mainland in 1949.<sup>96</sup>

Dai had now been abandoned for the second time and now he was left, in poor health, with two small daughters to care for.

Since 1947 the Civil War had been going against the K.M.T. and by April 1948 the Communist forces had crossed the Yangzi. In January 1949 the People's Liberation army took Peking.

In March 1949, Dai decided to leave Hong Kong and make for Peking. Dai was not a Communist but like Shi Zhecun— not even as far to the left as Dai— people of his sort had even less in common with the K.M.T..<sup>97</sup> Dai had no option but to throw in his lot with the Communists; he was after all on the K.M.T.'s wanted list and perhaps he was optimistic enough to think that his record in Hong Kong would allow him to start with a clean sheet and that his opposition to the League of Left Wing Writers and in particular Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai would be forgotten. Du Heng, the prime

mover in the 'Third Kind of Man' debate, decided otherwise and ended his days on Taiwan.

In 1949 Dai had no reason to believe that he, along with other fellow-travellers and 'liberal' Communist writers, would become *persona non grata* with the authorities, as occurred in the late 1950s. Dai unlike others was only posthumously ignored, or vilified according to the political climate, and was fortunate not to suffer opprobrium during his lifetime for his 'sins of omission'.

In a climate of euphoria—which often accompanies revolutions—created by the continuing advance of Communist forces, Dai decided to go north to the 'liberated area' and managed to find a place on a ship, the cargo vessel *Germa* flying the Norwegian flag; the ship had been organized by Shen Songquan 沈松泉 and some friends to take badly needed supplies to the north and room was found aboard for Dai and his daughters. They arrived in Dagukou 大沽口 on 17 March 1949. Shen Songquan has written of the journey: "On 19 March we left Tangu by train. I got off at Tianjin, Dai Wangshu and his daughters went straight on to Peking."<sup>98</sup> Bian Zhilin also travelled back with Dai.<sup>99</sup>

In June and July of 1949, Dai took part in the first Conference of Literary and Artistic Workers, *Wen dai dahui* 文代会. Luo Dagang, Dai's former roommate at the Institut franco-chinois in Lyons, whom Dai had not seen in fifteen years came to see him while the

conference was in session. Luo found his friend with his two daughters and asking about the whereabouts of their mother, discovered the facts about their separation. Luo recalls that Dai was obviously very ill. Dai asked Luo to join him at the International News Bureau where Dai was to be in charge of the French Section's translation bureau—this later became the *Wai-wenju* 外文局 — but Luo was content to stay in Tianjin with his wife and teach French.<sup>100</sup>

Dai was not to be in his new post for long, however. The winter climate in Peking aggravated his illness. At the end of 1949 Dai was in hospital for a short while, but had gone straight back to work. Meanwhile Dai had brought his mother to Peking to take care of the children. Dai seems to have still been in contact—by letter—with his wife but she did not re-join him.<sup>101</sup>

On 28 February 1950 Dai was working at his desk at home. As he rose from his desk he swooned and lost consciousness. His mother phoned his office and spoke to Dai's opposite number in the English language section of the International News Bureau, Liu Zunqi 刘尊棋, who rushed over immediately with two of his assistants, but arrived too late. Dai died without regaining consciousness. Dai had taken too much ephedrine for the heart to withstand. Dai apparently injected himself with ephedrine rather than take tablets, and so an unintentional overdose could have

easily been administered.<sup>102</sup>

In an obituary written by Bian Zhilin, we are told of the severity of Dai's condition. Dai could not even climb a flight of stairs or lift a suitcase without the onset of an attack of asthma.<sup>103</sup>

At the age of forty-five Dai had died in Peking. Dai had not written a poem in five years and was making a living out of his secondary profession of translator. The man who had introduced the poems of Baudelaire to Chinese readers died while supervising the French edition of the works of Mao Zedong.<sup>104</sup>

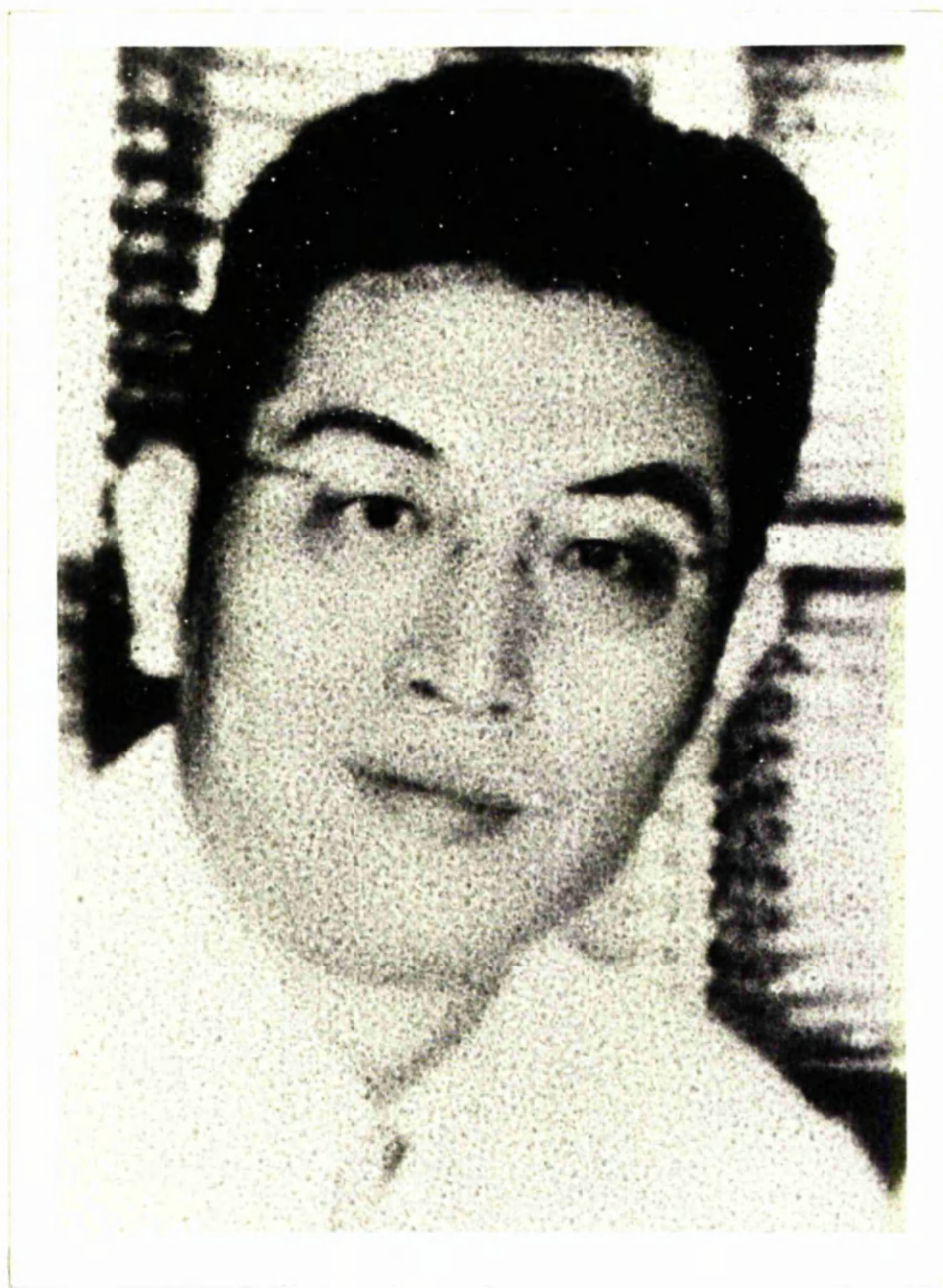


Fig. 14 Dai Wangshu, Hong Kong, 1948



Fig. 15 Dai Wangshu, Hong Kong, 1949:  
d year before his death



Fig. 16 Feng Yidai, Dai Yongxu (Er Duoduo) and Wu Xiaoling, Peking  
1983



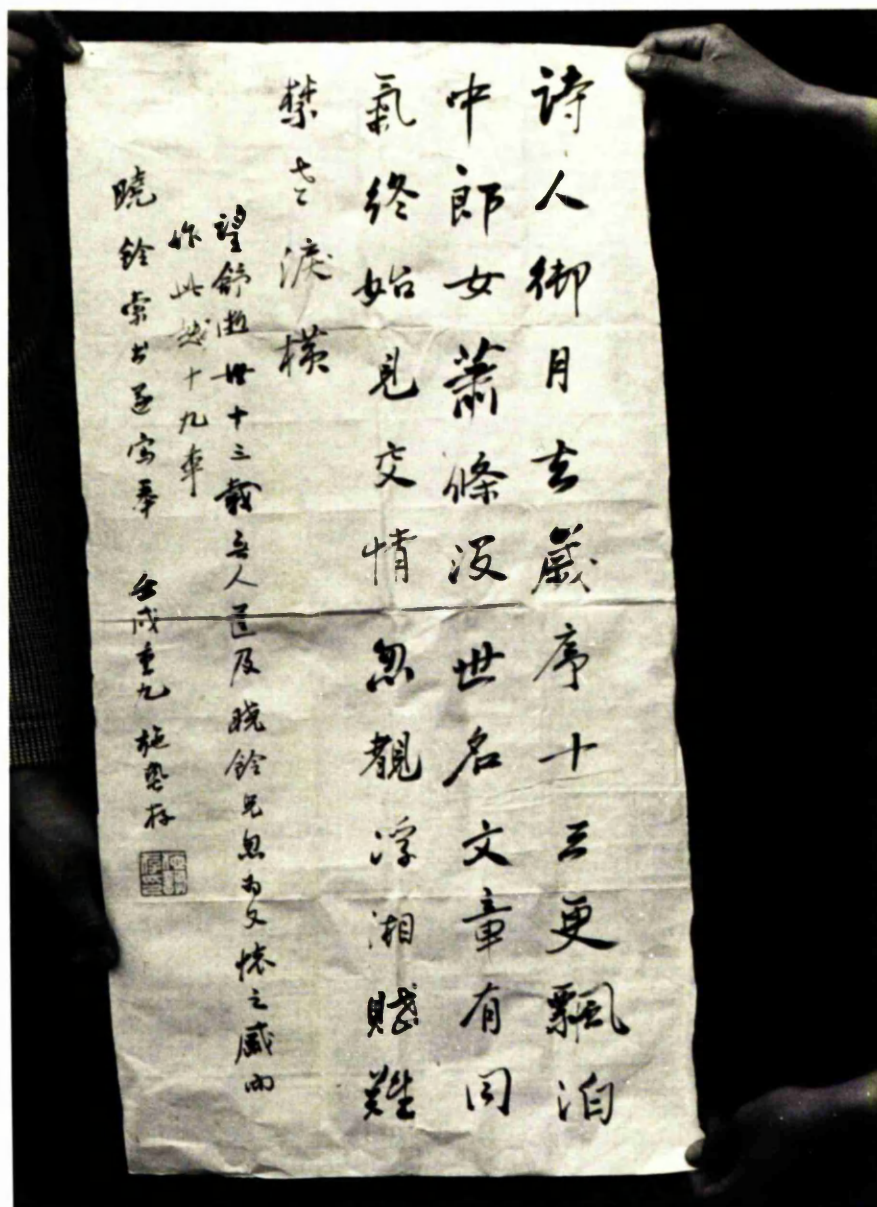


Fig. 17. Poem written by Shi Zhecun after seeing an article by Wu Xiaoling, commemorating Dai Wangshu.



## CHAPTER IV

### MODERNISM

#### *The Problem of Definition*

Before attempting an appraisal of the nature and meaning of Modernism in the Chinese context, it is necessary to first investigate what literary historians and critics have seen fit to term Modernism in general—termed rather than defined because while generalizations are not hard to come by, precise definitions of Modernism have proven elusive.

The difficulties involved in defining the term have been well summarized by Professor Frank Kermode:

Somebody should write the history of the word 'modern'. The OED isn't very helpful, though most senses of the word now have been in the air since the 16th century.... An earlier usage in the fifteenth-century *devotio moderna* seems more significant, because it denotes a sharp sense of epoch, and of a reaction against the style of life and thought of immediate predecessors, something rather more than the technical operations indicated by the word 'new'—in the 'new' poetry or the 'new' music.... The New is to be judged by the criterion of novelty, the Modern implies or at any rate permits a serious relationship with a past, a relationship that requires criticism and indeed radical re-imagining.<sup>1</sup>

This notion that the Modern is in part a reaction against what has gone before occurs again and

again in the literature attempting to define what Modernism is.

Modernism is not a monolithic, unitary school or structure either stylistically, nationally or linguistically. For instance, there are many differences between what we might term European Modernism and Anglo-Saxon Modernism. At the end of the nineteenth century, Kermode notes that "Modernism was not only the dangerous line of Beardsley, the clever excess of Wilde and Beerbohm; it was also the French cult of things as they now are." <sup>2</sup>

The phrase 'the French cult of things as they now are' may indeed prove to be an essential component of Modernism as perceived by Dai Wangshu and his associates, for it was from French culture that the poet drew his greatest inspiration and literary attitudes.

Kermode also writes on the role of politics in Modernism:

...on the whole one would want to say that politics has no essential part in the [Modernist] Movement. If there is a persistent world-view it is one we should have to call the apocalyptic; the modernism of the nineties has a recognizable touch of this, if decadence, hope of renovation, the sense of transition, the sense of an ending or the trembling of a veil, are accepted as its signs. At such times there is a notable urgency in the proclamation of a break with the immediate past, a stimulating sense of crisis, of an historical licence for the New. And there appears to be a genuine continuity here, *for all modernist art and literature between the nineties and now is associated with similar assumptions in some form or other.* (Italics mine) <sub>3</sub>

"Hope of renovation, the sense of transition" are certainly "assumptions" that may be associated with the Chinese social, political and literary scene through the twenties, thirties and forties. The intellectual break with the past around the turn of the century had secured little but dashed hopes and a further break with the "immediate past" was certainly desired by most aspiring writers in the late 1920s and 1930s, not all of whom turned to Modernism.

As for the political content of the Modernist Movement, Shi Zhecun holds a similar opinion of politics to that of Kermode, in that he does not see the content of Modernist verse, political or otherwise, as an essential criterion for its definition. Shi, of course, is viewing Modernism, in its widest context, as a style and ignoring the moods and emotions of Modernism.<sup>4</sup>

And yet the role of politics in twentieth-century China in relation to literature has been one of a constant and significant back-drop and at times of a forceful interloper.

In ideal circumstances—in the absence of political turmoil—Kermode's deduction would seem to be borne out by a perusal of the work of both Western and Chinese early Modernists. At least this would seem to be true as long as there was but a "stimulating sense of crisis", once that crisis was upon them Modernist writers were in a more invidious position and during

the 1930s Modernist writers were drawn into the maelstrom of contemporary political events; witness not only China, but France, Italy and Spain. Thus, Professor Kermode's assertion of the persistence of an "apocalyptic" world-view "between the nineties and now" might bear modification, certainly in those cultures where the Modernist tradition came under strong moral or political pressure, or was even as with the Spanish and Chinese cultures, killed off altogether. Nevertheless, that Modernism as practised to-day, as for instance in the Latin American novel, has retained its apocalyptic world-view, and very much in the sense described by Kermode, cannot be denied.

This notion and in particular what has been termed "the sense of an ending or the trembling of the veil" has indeed been noted by other essayists, most notably Herbert Read, to whom we shall shortly turn.

Kermode's inquiry, while brief, is comprehensive and ambitious. Indeed, others are criticized for the shallowness and narrowness of their approach, in particular Cyril Connolly and his survey of Modernism which is described as "superficially stylish" but "careless as to detail." In fairness, it should be noted that this is a fault common to most works dealing with Modernism.<sup>5</sup>

*Modernism* by Peter Faulkner, for instance, concerns itself only with "English literary Modern-

ism" and "above all T.S.Eliot, Ezra Pound, James Joyce and Virginia Woolf "; to which ethnocentricity is added the temporal constraint of confining the study to a "Modernist era", 1910-1930, thus dispensing with the necessity to deal with the origins and early manifestations of Modernism which do not lie within "English literary Modernism".<sup>6</sup>

Even a wide-ranging collection of essays, assembled under the title *Modernism*, edited and introduced by the literary critics and historians Bradbury and McFarlane, which incorporates numerous articles, is limited by what it excludes.<sup>7</sup> French and German literatures are given wide consideration, while Spanish and Spanish-American literature is hardly mentioned. Such neglect is surprising if one considers the tremendous influence and importance of early Spanish American Modernism (*Modernismo*)—which itself had its roots in French symbolism—and the wealth of Modernist talent represented by the 'Generation of 1927' as the the twentieth-century Spanish Modernists are known. The latter poetic group included the poets: Salinas, Guillén, Diego, García Lorca, Alberti and Altolaguirre; all of whom were incidentally taken up and translated by Dai Wangshu.<sup>8</sup>

This failure to extend the discussion of Modernism to its full historical and international perimeters has in part been responsible for the failure to treat fully the genesis and diversity of the

Modernist Movement. Furthermore, those literary theoreticians and historians who would limit their inquiries to literature in the English language face the problem of accomodating the widely held view of Symbolism as the cradle and primary phase of Modernism.

Those who attempt to encompass the whole gambit of literatures with Modernist traditions have not only a greater array of Modernist practitioners available to them for study, but a complex of inter-linguistic factors. It is this latter factor that has discouraged so many otherwise worthy critics from venturing beyond known boundaries.

The task of a full appraisal of Modernism, well beyond the remit of this present work, is therefore still outstanding. It awaits a full and extensive survey which will include a consideration of all appropriate literatures; a treatment long since lavished on modern art which lacks the barriers of language. How complete would a study of Modernism in art be without account being taken of the art of Spain and Mexico, for instance?

Nevertheless, for all the apparent lacunae, there are helpful insights to be gained from the available literature on Modernism and it will be fruitful to compare ideas about Modernism in Western literatures with the attitudes and milieu of would-be Chinese Modernists of the 1920s and 1930s.

*Breaking with the Past*

One of the features of Modernism most often noted is a rupture with past tradition. The artistic need for such a break with the past has been much discussed by literary and cultural historians. Herbert Read has put it most succinctly.<sup>9</sup> Read perceives two courses of action for the artist when faced with a suffocating and moribund environment:

The alternative suggestions are: (1) the artist retraces the historical development of his art and resumes contact with the authentic *tradition* [which in the case of Chinese poetry would have meant a return to Tang dynasty *shi* or lyrical poetry and Song dynasty *ci* or songs: forms singularly inappropriate for the markedly distinct nature of the modern Chinese vernacular language. Moreover, attempts to recover the Golden Age tradition had already been made in the Ming ('qianhou qizi' 前後七子) and in the Qing ('tongchengpai' 桐城派) without resulting in any remarkable rejuvenation or revitalization. However, tradition is not only invested in form, and it has been argued that traces of the poetic emotions of Golden Age poetry are to be found in some of the poetry of Dai Wangshu, as will be seen in the next chapter.] or (2) the artist resolves the crisis by a leap forward into a new and original state of sensibility—he revolts against the existing conventions in order to create a new convention more in accordance with a contemporary consciousness. We may admit that in so doing he merely recovers...the basic quality of his art—*aesthetic sensibility* in all its purity and vitality. But the context is new, and it is a synthesis of an untrammelled sensibility and a new set of social conditions which constitutes, in the evolution of art, an act of originality.<sup>10</sup>

In China at the turn of the century the case

for a break with past tradition was crushing and the artistic environment was far more over-powering and constricting than of any other contemporaneous culture suffering a low ebb in originality.

Bradbury and McFarlane also note the tendency of Modernism to be associated with a break in tradition:

... like Romanticism, [Modernism] is a revolutionary movement, capitalizing on a vast intellectual readjustment and radical dissatisfaction with the artistic past...<sup>11</sup>

The young Dai Wangshu started his poetic career during China's "vast intellectual readjustment"—the era of the May Fourth Movement. The "radical dissatisfaction with the artistic past" was widespread in early twentieth-century China and attempts in the field of literature to dissociate Chinese intellectual activity from the thousands of years of accumulated tradition were fervent after the May Fourth Incident of 1919 which led to the Movement itself; the seeds of a literary revolution had been germinating for some time and the May Fourth Movement merely channelled dissatisfaction and aspiration. Following the decline of Empire and the disappointing beginnings of the new Republic there was intellectual unrest in a new "context" and a "new set of social conditions" were evolving with the rise of urban classes and in particular the young urban intellectuals requiring a new means of artistic expression.



Attempts to make complete breaks with the past were not always successful. All the writers born in the first two decades of the century were to some extent educated in the traditional system and soaked in the literary heritage of China. Moreover, far from all who wished to break with the past turned out to be Modernists. The young intellectuals were searching for what was 'New', which as Kermode has pointed out, is not necessarily 'Modern'.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless, the conditions in which Modernism tends to arise, such as a "radical dissatisfaction" with the artistic past', did exist and many writers opted for the second of Read's "alternative suggestions" : having rejected the past tradition, to take a "leap forward".<sup>13</sup> But having rejected a monumental tradition , in which direction were they to 'leap'?

Having turned their backs on the their own past they looked to the world outside which was 'New' but they did not necessarily or immediately look to what was 'Modern'. Nevertheless intellectuals had chosen the West as their new cultural model. It would only be a matter of time before some were attracted to Modernism. Bradbury and McFarlane continue their enumeration of Modernist criteria thus:

[Modernism is] a movement that is international in character and marked by a flow of major ideas, forms, and values that spread from country to country...<sup>14</sup>

There was indeed a "flow of major ideas, forms

and values" from the West into China, but not all perforce Modernist. The schools of Realism, Romanticism and later Symbolism all made their mark. To a large extent the language and literature a young writer chose, or happened, to study was a significant factor in the determination of which school he would eventually be attracted to; bearing in mind that very little Western literature had been translated into Chinese.

The earliest influences were those of Russian and German literatures, often via Japanese translations, and English, mainly Victorian social realism and English Romanticism.

In poetry the most outstanding poets influenced by English Romanticism were Xu Zhimo 徐志摩 and Wen Yiduo 聞一多. Neither poet was content with the inspiration provided by the values and poetic emotions of Chinese poetry and both attempted to employ English poetic forms; even attempting to initiate an anglicized metric pattern. Such a form was of course impracticable for a tonal language such as Chinese, and the short-comings of classical Chinese form as a vehicle for the modern language were mirrored in the use of foreign forms. It was as if having escaped one set of indigenous rules they felt a need for a substitute.

Nevertheless, form was an obvious concern and those who turned to the French tradition—receiving an education in one of the several establishments of higher education using French as the medium of in-

struction, such as Aurore University—were perhaps better served in this regard. Such aspiring writers were open to different literary influences—both in form and ideas—, to French Romanticism, which differed not only in form but in content from Anglo-Saxon and German Romanticism, and to nascent Modernism in the shape of the Symbolists.

It could be argued that Modernist literary influences were available to those educated in the English literary tradition also. But Anglo-American Modernism was later in developing and more difficult to assimilate readily; Symbolism, proto-Modernism, was already a widespread literary movement.

Furthermore if we take, for example, Pound and T.S. Eliot as the Modernist masters in the English language, we may detect in their work a fundamental difference compared to non-English Modernism. Although there was certainly an interchange of influences among Romance languages and again between English and German, and to a lesser extent between the two linguistic groups, there were fundamental divisions at an early stage in what has come to be known as Modernism; most notably, divisions between "symbolism (tending to the transcendental) and imagism (to concrete particulars)".<sup>15</sup>

The fact that many young poets were inspired by French literature was decisive for the future of modern Chinese poetry, for it led to a freedom in

form, through the adoption and adaptation of *vers libre* or free verse, and furthermore gave access to Modernist developments, in particular those of the neo-Symbolists and either directly or via translation into French, to Spanish and Italian trends in Modernism.

Such as Wen Yiduo, Xu Zhimo and Feng Zhi 冯至—influenced greatly by German literature and in particular by Rilke—certainly achieved "a new and original state of sensibility"—as Read puts it—and opened up the minds of the poetry reading public, but it was the French school that would stimulate the further growth of modern Chinese poetry.<sup>16</sup>

It has been suggested, as will be seen in the next chapter, that Dai Wangshu was first influenced not by French Symbolism but by its predecessor Romanticism. This might at first seem an odd diversion on the road to Modernism, if the latter is viewed as a reaction against Romanticism. However, apart from the fact that Romanticism did not constitute an 'immediate past'—against which a reaction was necessary in order to start afresh—for Dai Wangshu and other writers, there is a body of opinion that considers Romanticism to have more points of contact with Modernism than hitherto believed.

The apparently antagonistic relationship between Romanticism and Modernism has recently been questioned, in the light of renewed interest in French

Romanticism. Critics have discovered in the "turbulence of Romanticism [that which] prepares and announces Modernism." Indeed, some of the later Romanticists,

... played out and lived out Romanticism to the hilt, whether in their concept of the artist as being apart and in conflict with bourgeois society, or toying with the intolerable, the need to subvert the relation between art and reality, or the tendency to push literary expression to its limits. Above all they seemed to subscribe to Nerval's statement: "Le rêve est une seconde vie." [Dream is a second life.]<sup>18</sup>

Thus, there was much in late Romanticism of a sufficiently revolutionary nature to initially attract Chinese poets reacting against their own literary past and as illustrated in the passage just quoted, much of the fervour and many of the ideas of Modernism are to be seen first in work of the later Romanticists. In particular, 'dream' is of great significance in Modernist poetry and nowhere more so than in the poems of Dai Wangshu.

#### *Dai Wangshu and the Modernist-Symbolist Tradition*

Let us first turn to the question of form. Shi Zhecun, fellow-writer and friend of Dai Wangshu, believes that free verse or *vers libre* was fundamental to the creation of Chinese Modernist verse.<sup>19</sup> While himself finding it difficult to define Modernism in general, he considers that Modernist poetry was dependent on a mood, a style, but that the liberating

factor, enabling the creation of Chinese Modernist verse, was the form. In that sense, Shi believes, all Chinese poets employing free verse were Modernists; free verse being such a free and modern form.

Perhaps Shi—as a Chinese writer sensing the significance of the Chinese poet being liberated from the burdens of traditional poetic forms—is over emphasizing the power and role of free verse and is confusing the freedom conferred by a new form, its modernity, with Modernism itself. The majority of modern Chinese poets were profiting from the greater freedom of *vers libre* in its Chinese manifestation but not all of these poets could be considered Modernist in any conventional critical sense.

If the external form employed by poets was similar, then what distinguishes the Modernist must be found in thought and content. Many modern Chinese poets, for example, took on board social and political themes, but Dai wangshu, on the other hand, concerned himself very little with such subjects in his verse. It may be remembered that Kermode states "politics has no essential part in Modernism," and despite Shi Zhecun's broad categorization, it will be evident that not so much the absence of politics in Dai's work but the intrusion of it into the work of so many other Chinese poets is what distinguishes Dai as a Modernist and others as non-Modernist or even anti-Modernist.

Furthermore, much of Dai's poetry not only

shuns politics and social concerns but excludes the outside world altogether in favour of the inner world of dreams and the imagination, concentrating on the self and individual rather than societal perceptions.

Bradbury and McFarlane have apprehended a definite trend in this vein, a line of thinking indicative of the Modernist poetic spirit:

The movement towards sophistication and mannerism, towards *introversion, technical display, internal self-scepticism*, has often been taken as a common base for a definition of Modernism. (Italics mine)<sup>20</sup>

This "movement" is evident in the work of the early Symbolists and thence in mainstream Symbolism, neo-Symbolism and generally as a feature of all that is now included within the term Modernism.

It is the Symbolist and, in particular, the neo-Symbolist trend within Modernism to which Dai owes most however. This is especially noticeable in the latter part of the poet's volume 'My Memory' and his second collection 'Rough Drafts of Wangshu', in which, as will be illustrated in the chapters dealing with those works, Dai is in particular indebted to the neo-Symbolist Francis Jammes.

Dai's debt to Symbolism is most clearly revealed in the realm of theme and mood, such as the melancholy brooding and pervasive nostalgia of much of Jammes' work; traits having their antecedents in the work of earlier poets such as Verlaine. Often the moods employed by Dai were accompanied by the impress

of Symbolist language and metaphor.

In Dai's earlier work there is a tendency to introduce rather too many symbolist devices, but throughout there is a poetic growth which tends to synthesize the influences of French Symbolism with his own poetic inclinations. The result is more than a Chinese Symbolism, for the poet has tried to expand the possibilities of the imaginative freedom offered by Symbolist innovations to fashion something new and finally independent, further along the road of the Modernist-Symbolist tradition.

Symbolism, nevertheless was Dai's conduit to Modernism and much of his early poetry bears a distinctive symbolist impression; witness Dai's most celebrated poem 'Rainy alley', an early poem which led justifiably to his reputation as a Chinese symbolist. Such a description of the poet is however not borne out by his later poetic growth for as the poet relies less on symbolist devices he moves into a poetic realm which can only be encompassed by the term Modernism, a term the critics have found so useful in describing what is beyond Symbolism yet is rooted in Symbolism. It is at this point that the difficulty of definition becomes acute and recourse can only be made to generalizations about the nature of Modernist poets who share as many differences as points of similarity.

Thus, critics and literary theoreticians have found it more fruitful to compare Modernism with those



movements which are apparently 'anti-Modernist'.

Critics in China have, over the decades since the 1930s, taken differing attitudes towards the merits of Modernism but throughout the common feature of their criticism has been the notion that Modernism is opposed and contradictory to Realism.

Such theories, while not carrying the same kind of political judgment, have often been popular with Western critics. Recently, in the wake of the popularity of Structuralism, the notion has even been given a more detailed and textual approach which while still leaving the nature and bounds of Modernism open to question, at least, attempts more precise definitions.

The leading British exponent of this approach is David Lodge. Employing the theory of 'foregrounding'—developed by the Russian Formalists and Czech Structuralists—and the metaphor-metonymy distinction of Jakobson's, Lodge attempts to "study the differences between modernist and other types of literature in the modern period." <sup>21</sup>

Here again, the author confines himself to a narrow field of English literature, but notwithstanding his work throws up some interesting insights, several of which indicate a greater perception of the nature of Modernism than has been displayed by others.

Taking up the theme, already mentioned, of reaction against the past and a perceived necessity

for renewal, Lodge formulates it thus, in relation to English poetry:

The modernists found the modes of late Victorian and Edwardian poetry...in-authentic in clinging to the myth of a universe that was intelligible and expressible within the conventions of a smooth homogeneous lyrical idiom.<sup>22</sup>

This could almost be a description of the view of Dai Wangshu.<sup>23</sup> Other Chinese poets, while having no argument about the unsuitability of the old "lyrical idiom", did believe that the universe could be rendered scientifically intelligible in verse; or at least went along with the notion encompassed in the literary doctrines which advocated Realism.

Lodge quotes Virginia Woolf poignantly perceiving the predicament of the writer hamstrung by the tenets of realism:

The writer seems constrained, not by his own free will, but by a powerful and unscrupulous tyrant who has him in thrall, to provide a plot...and an air of probability embalming the whole ....Is life like this?<sup>24</sup>

No more did Dai Wangshu consider life to be "like this", nor did he see life as being any more intelligible for being perceived through Realist eyes. His own poetic thoughts, to which we shall shortly come, seem to be more in accord with those expounded by Mallarmé, when he writes of the Symbolist poetic in terms of evocation and suggestion:

It is not description which can unveil the efficacy and beauty of monuments, seas or the human face in all their maturity and native state, but rather

evocation, allusion, suggestion... out of a number of words, poetry fashions a single new word which is total in itself and foreign to the language—a kind of incantation. 25

Several of Dai's ideas on poetry seem to echo these sentiments of Mallarmé's:

Poetry should avoid the exquisite detail of painting.

詩不能借重繪畫的長處。

A mere composition of beautiful words is not the distinctive mark of poetry.

單是美的字眼的組合不是詩的特點。

What is most important to New Poetry is the *nuance* of poetic emotions, not the *nuance* of words.

新詩最重要的是詩情上的 *nuance* 而不是字句的 *nuance*。

Poetry is not the pleasure of any particular sense, it belongs to all the senses or rather transcends the senses.

詩不是某一個官感的享樂，而是全官感或超官感的東西。

26

These notes were scribbled down in 1932 but further comments made in the mid-1940s reveal no real change in Dai's poetic values.<sup>27</sup>

Dai made these comments more than half-way through his career, having already come under the influence of neo-Symbolism, as is evidenced by a close reading of his first two volumes of poetry.

Not only were such ideas novel in China, but elsewhere also; Symbolism, as such, it should be remembered, had a history of barely four decades when Dai started his own poetic career: "*Symbolic poetry*: the word Mallarmé had been seeking so long had suddenly appeared fortuitously in the writing of an admirer."

The admirer was the young editor of the magazine, *Les Tâches d'Encre*, who wrote of Mallarmé:

...he suppresses transitions; and most often he proceeds, not from idea to idea but from emotion to emotion.... Proudly conceived lines sown here and there acquire a superb brilliance from the very obscurity of their foundation. This symbolic poetry is a stimulant which does not quench...<sup>28</sup>

Poetry is trying to communicate almost in spite of language, it seems. Dai's ideas, so similar to Mallarmé's, amount to an attempt to create a new way of transcending the rules of language and moreover indicates one of, as Lodge has it, the "basic ambitions of the modernists: to translate raw experience into immortal form by renewing the means of expression."<sup>29</sup>

"Renewing the means of expression" is redolent of Read's notion necessitating the pursuit of one of his two alternative suggestions, the former of which is the idea of a search for renewal reaching back into previous periods of literature in the tradition. Lodge's renewing -the-means-of-expression line would not appear to contradict such a course and indeed provides a theoretical basis for the idea of the search for renewal reaching back to previous periods of literature in the tradition:

...the metaphor/metonymy distinction explains why at the deepest level there is a cyclical rhythm to literary history, for there is nowhere else for discourse to go except between these two poles.<sup>30</sup>

In China during the 1930s the two opposites,

Modernism and Realism, for a time vied with each for supremacy, until the latter had won. Of course, in China's case the literary and political bases of the schools were largely imported as was the literary heritage in which renewal was sought.

Ironically, Modernists are often most easily identified and isolated by the attitudes of their contemporary detractors. What Lodge has to say about literary shifts in 1930s Britain almost word for word mirrors the literary arguments of 1930s China; where similar political and intellectual ideas—albeit more dogmatically—were expressed:

...the shift in literary taste and literary aims that characterized the new writers of the 1930s: their attacks on obscurity, allusiveness and elitism of the modernist-symbolist tradition, and their call for a more politically aware and openly communicative approach to the practice of writing [meant that] realism came back into favour.<sup>31</sup>

In China there were added emphases and party political backing to the attacks on Modernism, the elitism and obscurity of which was attacked in the 'Third Kind of Man' debate, but by and large the "literary aims", or justifications, were very much similar.

Realism in China, as elsewhere, necessitated a tendency towards the metonymic mode of discourse—with difficulty in the case of poetry which is essentially metaphoric, at least that is lyrical poetry—but what resulted was not a faithful mimetic reflection.

of reality— not in any case easy to obtain within, as remarked by Virginia Woolf, the confines of reality— but the reflection of a fantasy. What emerged in orthodox left-wing literature in the late 1930s and 1940s both in prose and poetry was a kind of myth, written in the metonymic mode.

Against this background the work of Dai Wangshu, distinctive and Modernist, stands out. The very direction of most of his contemporaries' work 'foregrounded' his poetry as much as anything Dai himself achieved towards the furtherance of his modernist art and its assumptions.

As for the representation of reality in his poetry, Dai did not attempt to interpret or describe society, but rather addressed himself to the poetic expression of existence and human emotion. He saw it thus:

Poetry is reality which has passed through the imagination. It is neither mere reality nor mere imagination.

詩是由真實經過想像而出來的，不單是真實，亦不單是想像。

32

The latter being a typically Modernist sentiment. As for 'detail', the "staple device of realism", Dai, as we have seen, eschewed it.<sup>33</sup>

A certain confusion has often arisen because of the association of the magazine *Xiandai* «現代» [Modern] with Modernism itself. Many writers who were not Modernists and later became self-confessed anti-Modernists contributed to this magazine and have thus



Fig. 18. *Xiandai* Cover Illustration

been erroneously associated with *Xiandaipai* 现代派, the Modernist School or Movement. The only justification for any connection being made between Modernism and the magazine is that its founders, Shi Zhecun and Dai, were Modernists themselves, but since, as explained earlier, many writers contributed because at the time the magazine was one of the few forums available to them, they can hardly be labelled Modernist on that basis alone.

Moreover the French sub-title, *Les Contemporains*, would indicate that the editors' idea of the magazine was that of a forum for those who were modernist in the broadest sense, in the sense Kermode described as the "cult of things as they now are."<sup>34</sup>

\*

Whatever the method or approach employed in the attempt to define Modernism, most critics have agreed on the seminal place of Symbolism within the tradition; indeed Symbolism is now considered as merely a School within the Modernist Movement, the literary trends succeeding Romanticism now collectively being referred to as Modernism.<sup>35</sup>

Professor Kermode, it was earlier noted, scorns narrow definitions, and yet is not able himself to formulate an all-embracing definition. In particular, he finds little merit in the definition of Modernism as "the movement in Hispanic letters which began in



the 1880s in Spanish America, blending Spanish, French and other foreign influences...."<sup>36</sup> However, he does agree that Modernism *encompasses* "our fallen father Baudelaire and his accursed sons the Symbolists."<sup>37</sup>

While the definition of Modernism as no more than the Hispanic *modernismo* is patently inadequate, there is no denying the existence of Spanish American Modernism and its roots in French Symbolism. Moreover, Latin American Modernism was in turn an influence on Spanish and French Modernists.

The later, or mature Modernism, of France, Spain, Latin America and indeed China, grew out of a the early Modernism of the Symbolists, arriving at a synthesis of French Symbolism and native aspirations and literary traditions.

As far as Hispanic Modernism is concerned, the definition, considered, rightly, by Kermode to be useless as a universal description, is no doubt adequate. And while narrow, something akin to: "the movement in Chinese letters which began in 1920s China, blending French and other foreign influences", would be a simplistic but acceptable definition of Chinese Modernism as far as poetry is concerned.

Although Dai's more mature verse arrives at a more personal synthesis, the inspiration derived from French Romanticism, Symbolism and neo-Symbolism as shown in much of his work, would justify the suggestion of the definition offered above.

Notwithstanding, no one definition can encapsulate the variety and range of Dai's verse. There is within his work, progression and growth. At first, Dai passes through a period of apprenticeship, a period of experimentation receptive to Romanticist influences and marked by intrusions of the classical tradition. This leads to a phase in which the influence of neo-Symbolism is dominant, but also in which his own poetic imagination and predilections come increasingly into play and his poetry veers towards Surrealism. Finally, there is a batch of poems written in a simple vein, further towards the metonymic pole on the 'metonymy/metaphor axis', but still tinged with the Symbolist mystique.

The main features of his central poems which clearly emerge owe much to Symbolist poetic thinking: the melancholy, the loneliness, the introspection, the use of dream and the subconscious. .

That there is much in Dai's poetry to satisfy many of the various Modernist criteria mentioned in this chapter will become apparent as his poems are investigated more closely. While working through the poetry, reference will be made to several of the definitions and approaches discussed above and to the precise influences and sources of inspiration providing Dai with a Modernist mentality. But while noting Dai's indebtedness to Symbolism and even occasionally to Surrealism, and while attempting to determine and

define the essence of Dai Wangshu's Modernism, let us not forget the witty yet meaningful message contained in Paul Valery's remark that one cannot get drunk on the bottle's label.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EARLIEST MEMORIES

The approach taken in this, and subsequent, chapters, is to analyse and elucidate the poet's growth with a view to identifying influences, where they can be proven to exist, and further to trace the development of the thematic preoccupations of the poet.

As the poet's work progresses into something more of a synthesis and Dai sheds the need for the poetic inspiration of other poets, the search for influences becomes less valid and less fruitful. But this approach is rewarding as far as the majority of Dai's fecund period is concerned. In Dai's later poetry the poetic thought moves away from original or inherited exploration of emotions towards a greater concern for the poet's own experience of those emotions.

The first dozen or so poems are experimental—in that the poet is crudely synthesizing Western and Chinese forms and poetic ideas—, thus they are dealt with in a more technical fashion, which is unnecessary in the consideration of Dai's later poems in which Dai has settled the question of form and idiom.

No attempt is made to cover all of Dai Wang-shu's poetic corpus, rather those poems which best

show how the poet's work grows thematically and stylistically are chosen.

No approach uniformly applied will be completely successful; as the character of the poet and his poetry evolves so must the manner in which it is considered change.

### *Juvenilia*

Exactly when Dai started to write poetry is unclear. According to his friend, the critic, Du Heng (who often used the pseudonym Su Wen), the poet destroyed much of his early verse. Facts about the dates of composition of these prentice poems are scarce and indeed the only more or less contemporary account of the poet's early work is to be found in Du Heng's Preface to *Wangshu cao* 《望舒草》 [Rough drafts of Wangshu] according to which Du Heng undertook the preparation, and publication of the volume at the request of the poet on his departure for France.<sup>1</sup>

According to this account, Dai started to write poetry sometime between 1922 and 1924. He surmises that only a few of these early poems survived to be included in the first section of *Wo de jiyi* 《我底記憶》 [My memory]: "Jiu jinnang" 舊錦囊; which poems, or how many, Du Heng does not venture to say.

As far as dating the poems in the first section is concerned, of the twelve poems included we can

establish that three—'Ning lei chu men' 凝泪出门 (Tears gathering in my eyes I leave home); 'Liulangren de ye ge' 流浪人的夜歌 (The wanderer's night song); 'Kexhi' 可知 (It's plain)—all appearing for the first time in the magazine *Yingluo* 《璎珞》 [Jade necklace], nos. 1 (17 March 1926), 2 (27 March 1926) and 3 (7 April 1926), respectively—were published in, and therefore written before, the spring of 1926.<sup>2</sup> 'Shisi hang' 十四行 (Sonnet) was first published in 1927, in the magazine *Mangyuan* 《莽原》 [Wild plain].<sup>3</sup> In 1928, five poems were published in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 《小说月报》; they were: 'Can hua de lei' 残花的泪 (Tears of fading blossoms); 'Jing ye' 静夜 (Quiet night); 'Zijia shanggan' 自家伤感 (Lament to myself); 'Xiyang xia' 夕阳下 (Under the setting sun) and 'Fragments' [original title].<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately the dates of publication in periodicals of these poems do not greatly assist in establishing the dates on which the poems were composed, nor is their order of publication necessarily chronological; 'Huile xinr ba' 回了心儿吧 (Change your mind) was published along with 'Shisi hang' in *Mangyuan* and yet was subsequently included, not in the first, but the second section of *Wo de jiyi*: "Yu xiang" 雨巷 (Rainy alley). Consequently, without the existence of any external evidence, both the validity of describing "Jiu jinnang" as the section including all of Dai's early verse and also the legitimacy of using periodical publication dates as a guide to establishing the

chronological order of the poems, are called into question. All that can be confidently stated is that those poems published in literary magazines were written at the latest by the publication date of the particular issue of the magazine in which the poem appears.

As for the remaining three of the twelve poems comprising the first section—'Han feng zhong wen que sheng' 寒风中闻雀声 (In the cold wind I hear the sparrow's song); 'Shengya' 生涯 (Life) and 'Shan xing' 山行 (Mountain walk)—, they were not published in any periodical and thus no date before 1929—when they appeared in book form—can accurately be arrived at.

Nevertheless, Du Heng is of the opinion that all twelve poems belong to Dai's early experimental period, placing them all before 1926.<sup>5</sup>

Que Guoqiu, a Chinese student of literature has suggested that the twelve poems, which he takes to be definitely earlier than subsequent poems in *Wo de ji yi*, show the influence of French Romanticism; in particular, he sees traces of Chateaubriand and Lamartine.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately the only corroborative evidence he provides to show the influence of the latter is taken, unhappily without acknowledgment, from Dai Wangshu's own comments on his borrowings from Lamartine which are to be found in *Xin wen yi*.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, this textual evidence, cited by Que, is not to be found in any of the twelve poems, but in the later

poem, 'Ye' ~~夜~~ (Night); the influence of Lamartine on which will be dealt with when considering the poem in the appropriate section.

As for textual influences stemming from the work of Chateaubriand, these are hard to judge. Dai's translations of *Atala* and *René* appeared in 1928, but these are prose works and thus the search for textual borrowings is unrewarding.<sup>8</sup> Also it might seem strange that Dai Wangshu should be influenced by a writer whose works he did not apparently translate until 1928 — two years after he supposedly wrote the twelve poems of this section. Indeed, before the publication of his translations of Chateaubriand's work Dai had first published his translations of Paul Fort's poetry — a much more tangible and definite influence.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Que does not pursue this anomaly and is correct, it would appear, in not doing so, for there is evidence to show that Dai may have started his translation of Chateaubriand in the same year he took up the study of French, 1925.<sup>10</sup> Thus, Dai's early acquaintance with French Romanticism in general seems to be beyond reasonable doubt.

Nevertheless, the influence of Romanticism on Dai Wangshu seems to have been in the realm of emotion and mood rather than in any technical or textually derivative sense. For instance, the young hero, common to both *Atala* and *René*, is overtaken by melancholy and sadness. Disillusioned with the world he surrend-



ers to self-pity, dreaming of love while never having experienced it. These are themes which occur regularly in Dai's poetry and it would seem that Mr. Que is justified in drawing our attention to these similarities in mood.

Dai's attraction to the Romantic Movement within French literature is revealing. Apart from the poet's personal emotional leanings which may have drawn him to Lamartine, Chateaubriand and others, there are similarities between the environment in which Dai was learning his craft and that of Chateaubriand; in other terms a similarity in cultural and social moods.

Both the French Revolution of 1789—when Chateaubriand was twenty years of age—and the Chinese Revolution and the establishment of a fragile republic in 1911 led to disappointment and dissatisfaction. The pessimism which resulted from the failure of these revolutions to fulfil youthful aspirations revealed itself in literature.

Romanticism is a rebellious kind of literary movement and the beginning of the nineteenth-century saw Romanticism embrace those literary tendencies opposed to the Classicism of earlier generations. This opposition expressed itself as a contempt for rules and the popularity of the cult of the imagination and sentiments. This was the literary rebellion in France and it is apparent that Dai Wangshu would

have felt some empathy with it. The full expression of sufferings, anxieties and extasies embraced by French Romantic poetry is likewise mirrored by Dai's endeavour to give vent to the full exploration of the state of the soul in his early poems.

As was noted in the previous chapter, there appears to be no overwhelming contradiction between Romanticism and Modernism, in that they share several characteristics, most notably the use of the imagination and the importance of dreams and visions.

Although Dai soon transferred his preferences to neo-Symbolist poetry, the influences of the Romanticist mood may be glimpsed throughout his work.

As for other possible foreign influences, Dai came under the influence of Symbolism at an early stage. The route via which he became acquainted with Symbolism was somewhat circuitous. Shi Zhecun and Bian Zhilin have both pointed to the influence of Ernest Dowson—the English Symbolist who was a great admirer and imitator of Verlaine—whom Dai translated together with Du Heng.<sup>11</sup>

There is again a similarity in mood. Dowson's main thematic preoccupation and inspiration: unrequited love coupled with a general despair are also reminiscent of Dai's early and, indeed, his later work. As an enthusiastic aficionado of Verlaine, Dowson claimed to emulate "verses in the manner of the French 'symbolists': verse making for mere sound, and music, with

just a suggestion of sense or hardly that...".<sup>12</sup> The desire to achieve a felicity of diction and purity and fluency of music would later be echoed in Dai's own poetry.

It has often been assumed that Dai's Symbolist inspiration must have stemmed from a reading of the great Symbolist masters, Baudelaire in particular. There seems to be no evidence, however, for such an assumption, logical and obvious though it may seem.

Although Dai did turn to reading and translating the early generation of Symbolists in later years—when in fact he had almost given up writing poetry—, his early literary activities did not include advocacy or translation of the father of Symbolism, Baudelaire. When Dai did discover the enchantment of Baudelaire's verse he devoted himself, as we have seen, to a faithful translation of his poetry. Had Dai read Baudelaire earlier, he would certainly have translated his poetry, and Dai's friends been aware of the fact.

Thus it appears that but for a brief flirtation with Dowson and Verlaine, Dai shifted his attention from the Romanticists to the, nowadays, relatively neglected neo-Symbolists Fort and Jammes. At the time such poets were, even in the West, extremely popular; their demise is a comparatively recent, and perhaps temporary, phenomenon, a consequence of the vagaries of literary taste.

Finally, a major influence during Dai's early

phase, was that of classical Chinese poetry and in particular that of the late Tang.

These are the possible influences defined generally. In order to obtain a clearer picture of the growth of Dai's early work and the relative impact of these various influences upon it, a detailed consideration of the poems themselves is called for.

A close examination of two poems drawn from the first section *Wo de jiyi*, of which they are representative, will serve both to illuminate how Dai tackled the problem of creating a poetic idiom and also will provide a context in which to judge the extent and nature of his subsequent poetic growth under different influences.

The first of the two poems discussed critically below, is 'Ning lei chu men' 凝泪出门 (Stopping the tears I leave home), typical of the mood of dejection and unrequited or disappointed love which pervades "Jiu jinnang" and which becomes a thematic trend throughout Dai's work. The second poem, 'Liu-langren de ye ge' 流浪人的夜歌 (The wanderer's night song), is superficially interesting for its apparent symmetry of form. Dai, experimenting with form in his early work, seems to have imposed an order which on closer examination is almost purely visual. First, let us turn to 'Ning lei chu men':

## 凝淚出門

昏昏的燈，  
 溼溼的雨，  
 沈沈的未曉天；  
 淒涼的情緒：  
 將我底愁懷佔住。  
 淒絕的寂靜中，  
 你還酣睡未醒；  
 我無奈踽踽徘徊，  
 獨自凝淚出門：  
 啊，我已夠傷心。

清冷的街燈，  
 照着車兒前進；  
 在我底胸懷裏，  
 我是失去了歡欣，  
 愁苦已來臨。

13

The dim lamplight,  
 The haze of the rain,  
 The gloom before the dawn:  
 Feelings of desolation  
 Fill my sorrowful breast.

In the intensely bleak calm,  
 You sleep long and deep:  
 I loiter helplessly, aimlessly,  
 Alone with tears gathering in my eyes  
 I leave home:  
 I am already so despondent!

The stark street lamps,  
 Shining on the moving car:  
 in my heart,  
 I have lost my joy,  
 Sorrow has already arrived.

A series of short descriptive phrases sets the physical scene and at the same time prepares the reader for the mood of melancholy and mystery which follows in this damp early morning.

The second stanza elaborates the mood. The sadness is all-pervading in the early morning and the reason for such sadness becomes slowly apparent. The loved one's indifference towards, or unawareness of, the 'I' of the poem, as she sleeps soundly, is contrasted with the anxious behaviour of the 'I' in the subsequent line. He alone is sad; she no longer caring for him, perhaps, or he not choosing to wake her. Who has decided to end the liaison is left unclear, the reasons for its end deliberately left unstated, and the poet, in Symbolist fashion, wants merely to peddle a mood, a framework for sentiments "with just a suggestion of sense...".<sup>14</sup> There is a separation, there is a sense of inevitability and there is sadness. The reader is left to imagine the rest and invited merely to sympathize with the emotions expressed.

Technically the poem is neat and concise. The terseness of the first line is repeated in the first line of the third stanza which returns to the physical setting which has moved outside the 'home'. The lamp of the first line is now the lonely street light shining on passing cars. The repetition of 'lamp', and its concomitant rhyme, successfully juxtaposes the first and second stanzas: the first anticipating the departure of the man, the third relating his feelings after the separation; the street outside contrasting and highlighting the inner feelings of loss and sorrow.

Although the nature of the characters is left vague, the 'I' of the poem is prominent. He appears explicitly throughout the poem, reminding the reader how personal are the emotions expressed, how inextricably they are part of the voice of the poem: "*my sorrowful breast*" (line 5); "*I loiter helplessly, aimlessly*" (line 8); "*I am already so despondent*" (line 10); "*In my heart/I have lost my joy.*" (lines 13-14).

This introspection, the dominance of the 'I', so indicative of the Modernist-Symbolist tradition is to be found throughout Dai's work. The 'I' coupled often with a display of personal emotions.

In this poem, sorrow and desolation, indeed a range of negative emotions, dominate throughout. Desolation or sadness is in his heart (line 4) and sensed in the calm of the morning (line 6); the more sad because it is undisturbed by the sleeping lover.

The tightness of the poem, the neat expression of nebulous emotions, owe much to the clipped nature of classical usage. For instance, the reduplicated adjectives appearing at the beginning of the first line of each stanza economically reflect and predict the mood: dimness, haze, gloom. Literary particles are employed throughout the poem: 'wei' 未 (lines 3 and 7) and 'yi' 已 (lines 10 and 15).

Is this retention of classical linguistic elements intentional or subconscious? Is the poet not confident or experienced enough to let go of the

hamstrings of classical literary language and introduce a more vernacular or colloquial flavour into his poetry? It is, of course, largely a matter of convenience and comprehensibility; the poem in question aims to build an atmosphere and is thus heavily reliant on descriptive words and therefore the poet would be hard pressed to avoid 'classical' vocabulary without inventing new words. Nevertheless to escape the hint of classical bondage the poet would have to resort to circumlocutions eventually. The poet was of course freer to do this once he had abandoned his preference for short, more or less regular line length; using lines of less than a dozen syllables the poet would find it difficult to avoid the convenience and immediacy of classicisms.

The success of 'Ning lei chu men' lies elsewhere, in the clever linkage of the three stanzas; the first introducing the reader to the poet's emotional stance, the second elaborating, providing a little more 'sense', the third focussing on the intensification of the emotions, once the act of separation is complete.

Within each stanza, the first two or three lines describe the physical surroundings with imagery that also serves to suggest the poet's mood. The haze and gloom of the first stanza reflect the vague melancholy the poet intends. The sad calm of the second stanza contrasts the indifference of the 'you', the



partner, with the poet's 'I', delaying his inevitable exit. The friendless nature of the street lamp shining on the traffic outside emphasizes the loneliness and desolation within the poet's mind.

A certain unity is revealed in the way the poet has used the contrast between physical setting and inner feelings within the stanza; a unity further reinforced by the rhyme repeated in the first three lines: '-ng'.

Rhyme, which is used sparingly, is effective in pulling the poem together. For example, 'the haze of the rain' (line 2) reflects more strongly the emotions expressed in line four because of the use of rhyme. Similarly the juxtaposition of the image of moving traffic (line 12) is enhanced by the use of rhyme.

The form and content of the poem, thus, interweave well, but perhaps give the impression of being wrought too nicely.

To what extent is the poem modern? The feelings and mood seem to resemble those of Chinese *ci* 詞 poetry while the modernity is supplied by the focus on the 'I' and the estranging coldness of urban existence. In doing this the poet is successful and yet the imagery and vocabulary do not strike the reader as fresh, the emotions, universal and timeless, are not invigorated by the expression given to them. The poet is successful in creating a mood, and handling the form

and technical aspects competently. In short, the poem is an interesting insight into the way the poet is battling with form and content, old and new and Western and Chinese.

From the point of view of form, 'Liulangren de yege' is an interesting poem and the subsequent revisions show that—while the poet was happy with the mood the poem conveys—its form and imagery caused him some disquiet:

### 流浪人的夜歌

殘月是已死的美人，  
在山頭哭泣嚶嚶，  
哭她細弱的魂靈。  
怪鳥在幽谷悲鳴，  
飢狼在嘲笑聲聲，  
在那殘碑斷碣的荒墳。  
此地是黑暗底佔領，  
恐怖在統治人羣，  
幽夜茫茫地不明。  
來到此地淚盈盈，  
我是顛連飄泊的孤身，  
我要與殘月同沈。

15

#### THE WANDERER'S NIGHT SONG

The waning moon is a beautiful woman  
already dead,  
Crying and sobbing on the mountain top,  
Crying over her frail soul.

A strange owl in the seclusion sadly  
hoots,  
Hungry wolves howl in ridicule,  
In the overgrown graveyard with its  
tumbledown tombstones.

This is a territory occupied by  
darkness.  
Terror rules over everyone,  
The long night is boundless in its  
gloom.

Coming to this place my eyes are  
full of tears,  
I am a drifting and battered lone soul,  
I want to sink together with the waning  
moon.

The outer visual form of this poem is unusual in that it bears a superficial resemblance to a classical seven syllable poem, *qiyan* 七言. Lines 1 and 7, however, are of eight syllables in length and lines 6 and 11 of nine, but not in the later *Wangshu shi gao* 《望舒诗稿》 version; where these lines were trimmed to seven syllables, giving the poem a uniformity of line length and enhancing the resemblance to classical *lushi* 律诗 forms:

残月是已死美人，  
在山头哭泣嗷嗷，  
哭她细弱的魂灵。

怪泉在幽谷悲鸣，  
饥狼在嘲笑声声，  
在那莽莽的荒坟。

此地黑暗的占领，  
恐怖在统治人群，  
幽夜茫茫地不明。

来到此地泪盈盈，  
我是飘泊的孤身，  
我要与残月同沉。

In the first version, however, even taking

into account the fact that the character *dē* 的 was not counted when reckoning up the syllabic count, the line length is not uniform.

As for putative rhythm, *pingze* 平仄, it does not accord with any regular classical scheme. As for the rhyming scheme, taking the classical rhyme values of the last character in each line would produce a more regular and harmonious set of rhymes and yet the occurrence of the several rhymes — according to classical poetic rules: *zhenyun* 真韵, *wenyun* 文韵, *gengyun* 庚韵, *qinyun* 侵韵, *qingyun* 青韵 and *gengyun* 梗韵 — in one poem is out of the question vis-à-vis the single-rhyme *qiyan* 七言 form.

The rhyme scheme therefore does not appear to work in accordance with classical Chinese poetics nor in modern standard Chinese. The rhymes seem, in fact, to represent sounds as pronounced in Jiangsu dialect; Dai was born in Hangzhou, so while not speaking a Wu dialect, he spoke the local Hangzhou dialect of Mandarin which is heavily influenced by Jiangsu dialect and accent. Thus interpreted, the rhyme would be more or less uniform throughout the poem. This is born out by contemporaries of Dai and by readings of the poem in Dai's native dialect.<sup>17</sup>

The basic seven syllable line would therefore seem to indicate a residual classical form without an adherence to the rules of classical poetry. Moreover the division of the poem into tercets is a break with

classical visual form which seems to suggest that the poet was indeed experimenting with formal possibilities.

A pattern would seem therefore to emerge in these early poems which may be described as an attempt to achieve a strict outer form—rhyme and regular line length—without a regard for inner form or metric values. The effect therefore is more visual than aural.

The content of the poem is also indicative of the poet's growth. The wanderer's impressions of the night start and finish with the image of the 'waning moon', likened in the first line to a beautiful woman.

The first stanza indicates the empathy of the wanderer with the moon, a woman wailing on the mountain top bewailing her weakness and impotence. The second stanza expands the nocturnal vision with beasts traditionally associated with the night and the intimidating nature of the graveyard with associations which serve to present an anxious, haunting mood. The third stanza elaborates the element of fear arising out of darkness. This 'territory' (line 7) could well be the territory of the Romanticist imagination, conjured up for its effect or perhaps it represents the disordered and desperate China of the 1920s which led so many young intellectuals to despondency. Whether individual or societal gloom is in question, the satanic darkness, in which the personification of terror

is strikingly modern, leads us back to sentiments directly expressed by the wanderer. Saddened, self-pitying, pessimistic and lost, he has no other desire than to escape, to shrink away from the terror, to 'sink' together with the moon, the sad and beautiful dead woman, whose beauty has failed to illuminate this desperate "overgrown graveyard" —the physical and political reality of China perhaps—and the wanderer is left with nothing but aimless regret.

The main features of this romantic pessimism do reflect the mood of the French Romanticists, as mentioned above. It was expressed in their case as disillusionment with life in general, failure in love, and the perversity of fate in its treatment of the protagonist-poet.

As noted earlier, this apparent similarity in mood gives a certain credence to the suggestion of a direct influence on Dai Wangshu's first dozen poems of French Romanticists.

The evidence of Dai having read such writers' work is sufficient to justify a formal connection, but the lack of concrete evidence of textual borrowings undermines—in the light of textual evidence that can be produced to prove subsequent literary influences—the case for a particular influence. Nevertheless the fact remains that the superficial evidence tends to support the theory of Romanticist influence.

Returning to 'Liulangren de yege', the poem

succeeds in constructing an atmosphere of mystery akin to that found in some of Lamartine's poetry, but there is the added element of fear.

Technically, the poem holds together due to the repetition of certain key words: *canyue* 残月 (lines 1 and 12); *you* 幽 (lines 4 and 9); *ku* 哭 (lines 2 and 3) which contrasts with the laughter of line 5, *chaoxiao* 嘲笑.

However, assuming that the poet intended to compose a thoroughly modern poem, the vocabulary fails once again to convey a new poetic spirit. For example, the re-duplicated adjectives *yingying* 莹莹 (line 2), *shengsheng* 声声 (line 5) and *yingying* 盈盈 (line 10) are inappropriate literary expressions which offer no new emphasis or meaning to the Chinese reader, long accustomed to such phraseology. Expressions such as *meiren* 美人 (line 1) and *yougu* 幽谷 (line 4) are archaic—if adding to the mystique of the atmosphere—*yougu* being found as far back as the *Shijing* 《诗经》. Indeed the whole tone of the language used in the poem is reminiscent of a poem in classical Chinese. In defence of such usage it might be said that the new context in which these classicisms are found reinvigorates their meaning and also that they make the transition to modern vernacular poetry easier both for poet and reader. Nevertheless, the poetic intention might have been more effectively achieved had its linguistic expression been more original.

That the poet has failed to expunge so many inherited stock poetic phrases from his vocabulary may be attributable to his preoccupation with form; the classical phrases lending an easily absorbed, condensed set of linguistic units which fit into the short lines employed.

In this first section Dai betrays an attachment to form and experiments with form: Western stanzaic patterns and regular line lengths reminiscent of classical Chinese verse. That Dai was later dissatisfied with his achievements in this area is demonstrated by his re-working and revision of 'Liulangren de yege'—many years later—when visual symmetry was attained. By that time Dai had already found a much more fluent form in a genuine free verse and his revision of the poem may be regarded as a retrospective attempt to tidy up the form he was earlier trying to achieve.

But in these early poems Dai was evidently experimenting with various forms, for there is no great consistency. He shows a preference for the quatrain; six of the twelve poems consist of four-line stanzas, but other common Western patterns are to be found: three, five and six line stanzas and one sonnet.

But it is line length that really limits the poetic possibilities. The short lines employed in the early poems leave little scope for the use of colloquial or familiar language.



In the third section of *Wo de jiyi*, itself entitled "Wo de jiyi" (My memory), we see the reflection of Dai's poetic manifesto in which the poet confirms his abandonment of form.<sup>18</sup> But even in the second section, "Yu xiang" 雨巷 (Rainy alley), there is evidence that the poet, more mature and confident, has retreated, although not completely, from the constricting nature of such early forms. It is to the second, "Rainy alley", section that we now turn our attention.

### *Rainy Alley*

It is this section of Dai's first collection which borrows its title from Dai Wangshu's most universally famous poem; a poem which established him within the literary world and without, among the general reading public.

It was also 'Rainy alley', with its mellifluous qualities and imagery of fading colours, which understandably led to Dai's being labelled a Symbolist poet. And indeed not just this one poem but the whole section presents the most positive proof of Dai's enchantment with French Symbolism; not merely the technique but also the imagery and vocabulary Dai borrows. Moreover the French language itself seems to have captivated the young poet; words and even whole lines of French are scattered throughout the half-dozen poems included in this pivotal intermezzo of the collection.<sup>19</sup> By the time of writing 'Yu xiang' Dai had had the

opportunity and time to gain a greater proficiency in the French language and attain a closer acquaintance with recent French poetry.

As for the qualities and techniques displayed throughout the "Yu xiang" section, it is rather ironical, in the light of the acclaim achieved by 'Yu xiang', that Dai should have rejected reliance on such musical and formal patterns in his poetic manifesto several years later. However much the poet may have denounced this early trend in his work, it provided several poems for which he is particularly admired and indeed 'Rainy alley' together with the other poems in this section constitute an important stage in the poet's growth. Although many of the trappings of Symbolism were later shed, strands of its influence would linger on.

The title poem of the section "Yu xiang" was, according to Du Heng, written in the summer of 1927 while Dai was in hiding during Chiang Kai-Shek's anti-Communist purge.<sup>20</sup> It was first published, along with five poems from the preceding "Jiu jinnang" section, in the pages of *Xiaoshuo yuebao*.<sup>21</sup> None of the other poems in "Yu xiang" appear to have been published before inclusion in *Wo de jiyi* and so it is unclear whether the poem 'Yu xiang' precedes or post-dates them; within the sequence of the volume they all precede 'Yu xiang'. However, let us turn to it first:

## 雨 巷

撐着油紙傘，獨自  
彷徨在悠長，悠長，

又寂寥的雨巷，

我希望逢着

一個丁香一樣地

結着愁怨的姑娘。

她是有

丁香一樣的颜色，

丁香一樣的芬芳，

丁香一樣的憂愁，

在雨中哀怨，

哀怨又彷徨；

她彷徨在這寂寥的雨巷，

撐着油紙傘

像我一樣。

像我一樣地

默默彳亍着，

冷漠，淒清，又惆悵。

她靜默地走近

走近，又投出

太息一般的眼光，

她飄過

像夢一般地，

像夢一般地淒婉迷茫，

像夢中飄過

一枝丁香地，

我身旁飄過這女郎；

她靜默地遠了，遠了，

到了頹圯的籬牆，

走盡這雨巷。

在雨的哀曲裏，

消了她的顏色，

散了她芬芳，

消散了，甚至她的

太息般的眼光，

她丁香般的惆悵。

撐着油紙傘，獨自

彷徨在悠長，悠長

又寂寥的雨巷，

我希望飄過

一個丁香一樣地

結着愁怨的姑娘。

# RAINY ALLEY

Holding up an oil-paper umbrella,  
I loiter aimlessly in the long, long  
and lonely rainy alley,  
I hope to encounter  
a lilac-like girl  
nursing her resentment.

A lilac-like colour she has  
a lilac-like fragrance,  
a lilac-like sadness,  
melancholy in the rain,  
sorrowful and uncertain;

She loiters aimlessly in this lonely rainy alley,  
holding up an oil-paper umbrella  
just like me,  
and just like me  
walks silently,  
apathetic, sad and disconsolate.

Silently she moves closer,  
moves closer and casts  
a sigh-like glance,  
she glides by  
like a dream  
hazy and confused like a dream.

As in a dream she glides past  
like a lilac spray,  
This girl glides past beside me;  
She silently moves away, moves away,  
up to the broken-down bamboo fence,  
to the end of the rainy alley.

In the rain's sad song,  
her colour vanishes,  
her fragrance diffuses,  
even her  
sigh-like glance,  
lilac-like discontent  
vanish.

Holding up an oil-paper umbrella, alone  
aimlessly walking in the long, long  
and lonely rainy alley,  
I wish for  
a lilac like girl  
nursing her resentment to glide by.

The poem 'Rainy alley' is a favourite of the anthologists and literary historians. It is often quoted as a proof of Dai's Symbolist style. But unfortunately the clear Symbolist associations have given rise to unwarranted and unsubstantiated generalizations as to which French Symbolists in particular had influenced Dai's poetry.

Julia Lin, in her *Modern Chinese Poetry: An Introduction*, writes of Paul Verlaine as Dai's "poetic guide" and of lines that "recall Baudelaire"; although we are not told which lines they might be.<sup>23</sup> Michelle Loi, in her *Poètes chinois d'écoles françaises*, also spots similarities with Baudelaire.<sup>24</sup> Madame Loi also cites Nerval and Francis Carco with the intention of indicating an influence.<sup>25</sup> And yet, neither author describes any direct influences nor produces any convincing textual or other corroborative evidence with which to justify such affirmations.

Inconceivable as it may seem to the modern reader and however the poem may "recall Baudelaire", there is, as stated previously, no evidence to suggest that Dai had ever read or been influenced by Baudelaire at the time of writing 'Rainy alley', and nothing in the poem in question would seem to indicate otherwise.

Dai, it is true, translated a short story by Carco in 1934, but none of his poetry.<sup>25</sup> As for Verlaine, although similarities between some of Dai's

other poems and those of Verlaine may be detected, there is little in 'Rainy alley' to indicate Verlaine's influence; except perhaps the possibility of an allusion to one of Verlaine's central images, the 'unknown woman', but this was a common image in the French Symbolist tradition.<sup>27</sup> The Chinese critic Que Guoqiu, while not noting the latter possible source of influence, does perceive "Verlaine's colour" in the assonance and the consequent musical qualities to be found in 'Yu xiang' but there is nothing in his assertion to demonstrate why these nebulous traits need have come from Verlaine rather than another French Symbolist.<sup>28</sup> That there are Symbolist influences in this poem is without doubt, but that they derive from Verlaine cannot be proven, especially, as will be demonstrated, when there are stronger contenders, both French and Chinese, for the role of "poetic guide", in this instance.

What reliable evidence there is, such as that to be found in Du Heng's 'Preface' and the statements of his contemporaries, would point us to the poet Francis Jammes, less well known than Verlaine and Baudelaire, but a great source of inspiration to Dai.<sup>29</sup> To be fair, Madame Loi mentions Jammes but only, and inexplicably, to dismiss the possibility of his having influenced Dai.<sup>30</sup>

The evidence suggests that Jammes' poetry is a strong influence on Dai's verse from this second

section of *Wo de jiyi* onwards; not only in similarity of moods, technique or subject matter, which may have been subconsciously acquired by Dai, but also imagery, vocabulary and even form.

In several later poems the evidence of Dai's indebtedness to Jammes becomes even more strikingly obvious, but that Jammes influenced Dai as early as 'Yu xiang' can hardly be doubted.

What evidence is there, then, to substantiate such a strong suggestion? If we first examine the central image of the lilac in 'Rainy alley' we discover some revealing lines in two of Jammes' collections—from both of which Dai selected and translated poems—: *De l'Angelus de l'aube à l'Angelus du soir* and *Clairières dans le Ciel*.<sup>31</sup>

For Jammes, lilac possesses attributes of sadness and melancholy: "Les lilas qui avaient fleuri l'année dernière / vont fleurir de nouveau dans les tristes parterres." [The lilac which blossomed last year/will blossom again in the sad flower-beds.]<sup>32</sup> In fact, the association dominates the section "Tristesses" in *Clairières dans le Ciel*.<sup>33</sup> More significantly, all the references to lilac occur in poems to do with imaginary or evasive female characters, as in 'Rainy alley'. There is too an aura of gloom surrounding the flower: "ces lilas qui me tuent dans les tristes parterres" [these lilacs which kill me in the sad flower-beds] where later in the same poem "je cherche

en vain votre présence" [ In vain I look for your appearance].<sup>34</sup> In yet another poem the poet awaits an imaginary "beauté sans nom", redolent of Verlaine, in a room where the lilac blossoms are "sombres comme la nuit" [ gloomy as the night], where, of course, *sombre* has the further sense of melancholy as well as darkness.<sup>35</sup>

Although the lilac remains as a reminder of the vision, the imagined presence, the girl invariably does not:

Elle avait emporté des brassées de lilas  
 .....  
 Les lilas qu'elle avait, elle les posa là  
 .....  
 Elle a tendu la main et m'a dit au revoir<sup>36</sup>

[She had brought armfuls of lilac  
 .....  
 The lilac she had , she put there  
 .....  
 She held out her hand and said goodbye]

It seems therefore highly probable that the association of lilac with sadness and the idea of the vision of an unattainable woman in 'Rainy alley' are the result of Dai's having read and been influenced by the poetry of Jammes. More than the mood and central images, there are other devices and ideas which may have been borrowed from Jammes.

The Symbolist *correspondance* that we see in Dai's "A lilac-like colour, / She has a lilac-like fragrance" is seen quite clearly in Jammes' "la couleur d'un parfum qui n'aura pas de nom."<sup>37</sup> Dai, of course, gives his *parfum* both a colour and a name.



Other snatches of lines from Jammes, are strikingly reminiscent of lines in 'Rainy alley'. The first line of 'Rainy alley', for instance resembles the first line of another of Jammes' poem with once again the presence of an imaginary girl: " Avec ton parapluie bleu ..." [ With your blue umbrella...].<sup>38</sup>

But above all it is the nebulous quality of the desired woman whom Jammes devotes himself to "chercher dans la douceur du vent et de la pluie" [looking for in the softness (/mildness) of the wind and rain] which is imprinted on Dai's poem.<sup>39</sup> For Jammes, the woman he yearns for must be unattainable because of the degree of purity and perfection he demands:

Je ne désire point ces ardeurs qui passionnent.  
Non: elle me sera douce comme l'Automne.  
Telle est sa pureté...<sup>40</sup>

[I want none of these exciting fervours.  
No: she will be gentle to me like autumn.  
Such is her purity...]

This desire for perfection is bound up with a nostalgia for this *désir perdu*, a nostalgia which nevertheless is very much immediate:

C'est à un présent, non à un imparfait,  
à une immédiate évidence et, là encore,  
à un contact, vierge, opaque, irrécusable,  
qu'accède ... cette nostalgie.<sup>41</sup>

[It is a present, not an imperfect, an immediate, and furthermore, a virgin, opaque and unimpeachable contact that this nostalgia ... attains.]

Virgin, opaque, unimpeachable are qualities that may also be ascribed to Dai's lilac-coloured girl. The

degree to which Dai relied on Jammes in composing 'Rainy alley' is open to question, as is whether the influence was totally conscious, but that Dai is indebted to Jammes, and more so than to any other French poet in the Symbolist tradition, is indisputable.

We come then to an examination of possible classical Chinese literary allusions. Bian Zhilin in his Preface to *Dai Wangshu shiji* states that in reading the poem he sees in it a modern day expansion or treatment of the famous line from classical Chinese poetry: "丁香空结雨中愁" [In vain the lilac blossoms knot my sorrow in the rain].<sup>42</sup> In a conversation with Bian, he mistakenly attributed this line to Li Shangyin.<sup>43</sup> This error is, perhaps, understandable, as the sentimental nature of both poets often leads Chinese readers to see a link between the two. But to Li Shangyin we shall return. As for the line quoted by Bian Zhilin, it is, in fact, to be found in the *Nan Tang er zhu ci* 南唐二主词 [Lyric Poems of the Two Lords of Southern Tang].<sup>44</sup> Most of the work is penned by Li Yu (937-78) the third and final emperor of the Southern Tang, but several poems, including the one cited by Bian, were written by Li Yu's father, Li Jing.<sup>45</sup>

The volume in which the line is found has long been popular with Chinese readers and Dai is certain to have read it or at least been familiar with some of its more famous lines.<sup>46</sup> The association of lilac

with rain and melancholy would certainly make these lines a possible source of influence for 'Rainy alley'.

As for Li Shangyin, we find the lines:  
Have just put forth knot-like flowers. 47

本是丁香树。  
春条结缙生。

本是丁香树。  
春条结缙生。 48

47

Here apart from the lilac tree and its blossom there is little to tie Li Shangyin's poem to the sentiments of 'Rainy alley' but in Li Shangyin's 'Dai zeng' 代赠 we see again the association of lilac and melancholy:

The banana-tree does not unfurl, the lilac  
is not in bloom,  
Together in the spring wind each is melancholy.

芭蕉不展，丁香结，  
同向春风各自愁。

49

If a Chinese source must be sought, it surely lies in one or all of these lines.

But whichever Chinese poet influenced Dai's composition of 'Rainy alley', its great attraction and popularity are based on its assimilation of certain Western techniques. Within a strong form (its fixed word structure, repetition of words, sounds and lines) the poet creates an impressionistic and abstract vision whose words and musicality approach an ideal synthesis of a Symbolist poem. The theme of sadness and ultimate solitude is of course well suited to a Symbolist treatment as is the intangibility of the

heroine and her Symbolist *correspondances*; as Kubin has remarked: "She is so abstract that the lilac becomes her medium."<sup>50</sup> The Symbolist mood is also evoked by the very choice of words: 'dream', 'lilac', 'girl' and, as Cherkassky has noted, the "lyrical hero of the poem himself" with his umbrella held aloft.<sup>51</sup>

Cherkassky goes on to point out that, the 'girl', loving and loved, is the heroine of several of Dai's poems, but as we have seen in Jammes' verse, she is never fully possessed.<sup>52</sup>

The success of the poem lies, perhaps, in its perfection as a Chinese Symbolist poem—drawing its essential inspiration, it is suggested, from the poet's acquaintance with the work of Francis Jammes—which while 'Western' in form and character, provides in its imagery, sentiment and subtlety, poetic undertones at once understandable and sympathetic to Chinese poetic sensibilities.

The remaining poems in the "Yu xiang" section are not perhaps so readily understandable to the Chinese reader. The main reason for this is doubtless the remarkable number of intrusions into the text of words and phrases in the French language. A sign perhaps of the poet still trying to find his way, of influences and exuberance only half-absorbed. Therefore, before moving on to a consideration of the remaining poems of "Rainy alley", let us first consider the 'foreignisms' in *Wo de jiyi*.

The habit and attraction of sprinkling foreign words and phrases throughout a poem was prevalent among poets during the early years of Chinese New Poetry.<sup>53</sup> Such a device gave a certain cachet to the work and advertised the poet's espousal of modernity which was perforce foreign. But it also had the undesirable result of reducing the number of people who could readily understand New Poetry even further. In cognizance of this fact, and no doubt realizing its redundancy, Dai abandoned the practice after the publication of his first volume.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, he made sure that in later editions of these early poems, all foreign words were replaced with Chinese equivalents.<sup>55</sup>

However in the volume under discussion, Dai had even employed a Latin couplet as an epigraph; not an unusual practice in the West, but rarer in China. The couplet is:

Te spectem mihi cum venerit hora,  
Te teneam moriens deficiente manu.<sup>56</sup>

[Let my eyes see you when my last  
hour approaches,  
Let me hold you with my weakening  
arms as I die.]

In fact this is a quotation from Tibullus and surprisingly encapsulates the tone of much of the volume, especially the central section of "Rainy alley", as the preceding and subsequent couplets show:

But the chains of a beautiful girl  
hold me fettered;  
In fact I sit as a porter at her  
stubborn door.

.....

You'll weep as I'm laid on the litter  
 that's soon to be kindled,  
 And cover me with kisses mixed with  
 mourning tears.<sup>57</sup>

There is unfortunately no evidence that Dai had read Tibullus in its entirety but if he did so he no doubt would have read it in the French, as he had done for his translation of Ovid's *Amores*.

Is the epigraph directed at the mysterious and unattainable girl of 'Rainy alley' or at his fiancée to whom the volume is dedicated? Even the dedication, however, is not immediately obvious; it reads: *A Jeanne*. *Jeanne* was in fact not an imaginary French heroine but the name Dai had given to his fiancée, Shi Jiangnian; sister of his friend and colleague, Shi Zhecun.<sup>58</sup> Frequent mention is made of the young woman in the poet's diary of his voyage to France [see appendix I and accompanying illustration]. Shi is convinced that while Dai's poetry, at this time, is not a record of the couple's relationship, notwithstanding, Dai had her in mind as the 'heroine' of many of the *Wo de jiyi* poems.<sup>59</sup>

There are a few instances of the use of French words in the third section of *Wo de jiyi*, but most fall in the second section to which we now turn.

The section as a whole shows the poet in transition, it constitutes a melting pot in which the poet is experimenting with various ingredients and results in a more mature synthesis of influences in the third section in which his allusions become more subtle and

even subliminal. Achieving that synthesis is the title poem of the second section, 'Rainy alley' — certainly the most mature and far removed from the poem the worst afflicted by Dai's fad for the use of French: 'Huile xinr ba' 回了心兒吧 (Change you mind!). The latter is one of the few poems never subsequently re-published in any of Dai's anthologies until the posthumously published collected poems appeared in 1981.<sup>60</sup> Its over employment of French is immediately apparent:

回了心兒吧

回了心兒吧，Ma chère ennemie，

我從今不更來無端地煩惱你。

你看我啊，你看我傷碎的心，

我慘白的臉，我哭紅的眼睛！

回來啊，來一撫我傷痕

用盈盈的微笑或輕輕的一吻。

Aime un peu！我把無主的靈魂付你：

這是我無上的願望和最大的冀希。

回了心兒能，我這樣向你泣訴，

Un peu d'amour, pour moi, c'est déjà trop！

61

Change your mind, *Ma chère ennemie*,\*  
From now on I shall not come and worry  
you without reason,

Look at me, look at my broken heart,  
My wretched pale face, my eyes red with  
tears!

Come back, come and caress my scars  
With a full smile or a gentle kiss.

*Aime un peu!* I deliver my lost soul to you:◊  
This is my highest desire and greatest hope.

Change your mind, I implore you,  
*Un peu d'amour, pour moi, c'est déjà trop.*§

\* My dear enemy  
 ◇ Love [me] a little  
 § A little love, for me, is more than enough.

It is not surprising that Dai did not see fit to publish this poem again. The use of French is overdone and without this artifice, an already weak poem becomes yet weaker. Some of the Chinese grammar is also defective, for instance in line 7, the *ba* 把 ought to be followed by a verb and complement, to read perhaps: ...*fu gei ni* 付给你. This error lends weight to the notion that the poem may have been originally written in French and subsequently turned into Chinese; the poet choosing to leave certain phrases in the original. Apart from "chère ennemie"—borrowed from Ronsard—the other phrases in French would seem to be the poet's own; certainly "Aime un peu" (line 7) is not very good French.<sup>62</sup>

The remaining poems of this section are for the most part reminiscent of the title poem 'Rainy alley'. They deal with unrequited love and disappointment in love.

'Mandolin', as Zhu Xiang 朱湘 has written, has obvious Symbolist qualities: suggestiveness and *correspondances*.<sup>63</sup> The emotions in this instance are transported or given life by the vehicle of the mandolin:



從水上飄起的，春夜的  
 Mandoline  
 你咽怨的亡魂，孤冷又纏綿，  
 你在哭你底舊時情？

64

The sound of a *Mandolin* on a spring night  
 floats up from the water's surface,  
 You dead soul, lonely and sentimental,  
 breathing resentment,  
 Are you crying for bygone emotions?

Nevertheless the earlier stanzas of the poem are tinged with classical stock poetic phraseology such as, 'pai hui' 徘徊 in line 4: 你徘徊到我的窗邊 (You wander up to my window) and 'yiyidi' 依依地 in line 10: 你依依地又來到我耳邊低泣 (Clingingly you come once again to sob beside my ears).

'Spleen' is another poem which declares itself Symbolist in its very title. In fact, the debt to the Symbolist heritage may be greater than a mere borrowed title. Cherkassky has noted that, the first couplet of Dai's 'Spleen' bears a certain resemblance to Verlaine's first line in his poem of the same title, but Cherkassky seems to have based his observation more on spirit of the title than on the lines themselves.<sup>65</sup>

Dai's lines are:

我如今已厭看舊薇色  
一任她嬌紅披滿枝。 66

Now I've come to hate the sight of  
the rose,  
Let its beautiful red cover the whole  
branch if it will.

And those of Verlaine :

Les roses étaient toutes rouges,  
Et les lierres étaient tous noirs.  
[The roses were wholly red, 67  
And the ivy wholly black.]

However, Cherkassky has failed to point out that Dai's inspiration for the title may equally have come from Dowson's version of the same poem. Dowson reproduced 'Spleen' ("After Paul Verlaine") in what amounts to a paraphrase translation:

Around were all the roses red,  
The ivy all around was black. 68

Dai , as has been noted, was interested in, and translated, both poets during the same period of time. There is , therefore, no way of knowing whence came the inspiration for the title. But, whichever poet provided this inspiration, apart from the general mood of melancholy and lassitude of Dai's 'Spleen' there seems to be little taken from the Verlaine/Dowson 'Spleen' and the two lines in question probably owe more to Francis Jammes. This seems to be another example of the assumption that Dai's Symbolist influence must derive from early Symbolists such as Verlaine; an assumption seldom proved by textual evidence. 69

Textual evidence of the inspiration Dai derived from Francis Jammes is, however, more prolific; to

find such evidence, we must turn to an examination of the third section of *Wo de ji yi*.

### *Clay Pipes and Memories*

The reason why Wangshu himself did not like 'Rainy alley' is quite simple, it is just that when he wrote 'Rainy alley' he was already starting to bravely rebel against the so-called "musical elements" of poetry.....  
 ...one day [in the summer of 1927] he suddenly and excitedly thrust a page of manuscript into my hands, saying, "Take a look at my masterpiece." I read the poem straightaway and found it to be quite novel; in it, the rhythm of words and phrases had been replaced by the rhythm of the emotions, it left me a little incredulous that it had been written by the same poet who had not long before written 'Rainy alley', Wangshu. Just a few months previously he had been patching together end-rhymes of the 'panghuang', 'chouchang', 'mimang' kind, now he had bravely penned this "Ta de baifang shi mei you yidingde" (Its visits are unannounced) kind of free verse line.

The title of the poem he had shown me was 'My memory'.<sup>70</sup>

Thus Du Heng describes the change he perceived to have come about with the composition of 'My memory' and the other poems contained in the third and final section, which takes its title, as does the entire volume from the poem in question.

The style and form of the poem is not only a new departure for Dai but also it provides evidence, as do many other of the poems in the section, of the major influence on the poet's work at the time: Francis Jammes. Let us now turn to the "masterpiece":

## 我底記憶

我底記憶是忠實於我的，  
忠實得甚於我最好的友人。

牠存在在燃着的煙捲上，  
牠存在在繪着百合花的筆桿上，  
牠存在在破舊的粉盒上，  
牠存在在頹垣的木莓上，  
牠存在在喝了一半的酒瓶上，  
在撕碎的往日的詩稿上，在壓乾的花片上，  
在悽暗的燈上，在平靜的水上，  
在一切有靈魂沒有靈魂的東西上，  
牠在到處生存着，像我在這世界一樣。

牠是膽小的，牠怕着人們底喧囂，  
但在寂寥時，牠便對我來作密切的拜訪  
牠底聲音是低微的，  
但是牠底話是很長，很長，  
很多，很瑣碎，而且永遠不肯休；  
牠底話是古舊的，老是講着同樣的故事，  
牠底音調是和諧的，老是唱着同樣的曲子，  
有時牠還模仿着愛嬌的少女底聲音，  
牠底聲音是沒有氣力的  
而且還夾着眼淚，夾着太息。

牠底拜訪是沒有一定的，  
在任何時間，在任何地點，  
甚至當我已上床，朦朧地想睡了；  
人們會說牠沒有禮貌，  
但是我們是老朋友。  
牠是瑣瑣地永遠不肯休止的，  
除非我淒淒地哭了，或是沈沈地睡了；  
但是我是永遠不討厭牠，  
因為牠是忠實於我的。

## My memory

My memory is faithful to me,  
More faithful than my best friend.

It exists in a lighted cigarette,  
It exists in my pen decorated with a lily,  
It exists in a battered old powder compact,  
It exists in the lichen on the crumbling wall,  
It exists in a half-finished bottle of wine,  
In torn-up drafts of poems of days gone by, in pressed  
    flowers,  
In the sad dimness of the lamp, in still waters,  
In all things with or without a soul,  
It exists everywhere, like me on this earth.

It is timid, it fears the clamour of other people,  
But in times of loneliness, it comes to pay me  
    intimate visits,  
Its voice is faint,  
But its talk goes on and on,  
And on, so trivial, and never willing to stop:  
Its talk is old, always telling the same story,  
Its tone is harmonious, always singing the same song,  
At times imitating the voice of a pampered young woman,  
Its voice has no strength,  
And bears tears and sighs.

Its visits are unannounced,  
At whatever time, in whatever place,  
Often when I've just got into bed, drowsy and about  
    to fall asleep,  
Or it picks the early morning,  
Some will say it has no manners,  
But we are old friends.

Being garrulous, it is always unwilling to stop,  
Except when in sadness I cry,  
Or am deep in sleep,  
But I never get annoyed with it,  
Because it is faithful to me.

The key to the form of this free verse poem,  
the rhetorical centrepiece, is obviously the repetit-  
ion, in lines 3-7 of the phrase: 'Ta cunzai zai ...  
shang' (It exists in...), which tells us how and why  
the poet's memory is prompted. The rest of the poem  
goes on to describe the 'character' of the memory and

the nature of its relationship with the poet.

The idea of the poem bears a superficial resemblance to one of Baudelaire's 'Spleen' poem, (number LXXVI of *Les Fleurs du Mal*) which has the lines:

J'ai plus de souvenirs que si j'avais  
mille ans.  
Un gros meuble à tiroirs ...  
.....  
Cache moins de secrets que mon triste  
cerveau.  
[I have more memories than if I were a  
thousand years old.  
A large chest of drawers...  
.....  
Has fewer secrets than my sad brain.]<sup>72</sup>

And yet the form and subject matter remind us foremost of the poem 'La salle à manger' by Francis Jammes, which may of course have been inspired by the poems of Baudelaire's quoted above.

Notice, in Jammes' poem, not only the device of repetition of key phrases but also the 'soul' with which the poet has endowed an inanimate object, to which the poet talks, and note also the "faithfulness" to "these memories":

Il y a une armoire à peine luisante  
qui a entendu les voix des mes grand'tantes,  
qui a entendu la voix de mon grand-père,  
qui a entendu la voix de mon père.  
A ces souvenirs l'armoire est fidèle.  
On a tort de croire qu'elle ne sait que se taire,  
car je cause avec elle.<sup>73</sup>

[There is a cupboard, barely shiny,  
which has heard the voices of my great-aunts,  
which has heard the voice of my grand-father,  
which has heard the voice of my father.  
The cupboard is faithful to these memories.  
It is wrong to think she only knows how to be  
silent,  
because I chat with her.]

The parallels with the first two stanzas

of 'My memory' are remarkable. Dai, in fact, translated this, and other, poems by Jammes for publication in *Xin wenyi*.<sup>74</sup> It is beyond doubt therefore that Dai was not only acquainted with the poem but borrowed from it liberally.

This helped Dai to achieve a new style. For instance, the diction is of an entirely different order, as Du Heng had pointed out. Gone are the old poetic phrases and in come the everyday words: the "cigarette" (1.3); the "powder compact" (1.5); the "bottle of wine" (1.7). The language is plainer and more colloquial in general, although one or two more literary phrases still creep in, here and there: "qiqidi" 淅淅地 (second line, last stanza). All in all, there is a much greater simplicity than in his earlier work. And the poem is composed in truly free verse; the structure of the poem relying on the device of repetition and the unitary subject of the 'memory'.

But such simplicity has not been brought about at the price of poetic expression, for simplicity can be deceptive. "There is artifice in all poetry and a poet is not necessarily more sincere when he is using simpler language. In fact, simplicity is often the fruit of intense cultivation."<sup>75</sup> And in Dai's case, it is doubtless also the "fruit" of cross-cultivation with the poetry of Jammes.

It is curious, however, that Dai should have picked on this animistic streak in Jammes' poetry.

For instance, the image of the wind singing or whistling is common enough but in 'Qiutian' 秋天 (Autumn) an even more striking anthropomorphic element is seen and the tone of familiarity is also unusual:

## 秋 天

再過幾日秋天是要來了，  
默坐着，抽着陶器的煙斗，  
我已隱隱地聽見牠的歌吹  
從江水的船帆上。

牠是在奏着管絃樂：  
這個使我想起做過的好夢；  
從前我認牠是好友是錯了，  
因為牠帶了憂愁來給我。

林間的獵角聲是好聽的，  
在死葉上的漫步也是樂事，  
但是，獨身漢的心地我是很清楚的，  
今天，我是沒有閒雅的興致。

我對牠沒有愛也沒有恐懼，  
我知道牠所帶來的東西的重量，  
我是微笑着，安坐在我的窗前，  
當浮雲帶着恐嚇的口氣來說：秋天要來了，望舒先生！



In a few days Autumn will have arrived,  
 Quietly sitting, smoking a clay pipe  
 I already have faintly heard its tune blowing  
 From the sails on the river.

It is playing its strings and woodwinds:  
 Which makes me think of good dreams I have had,  
 When I thought it was a good friend I was mistaken,  
 Because it brought me trouble.

The sound of the hunting horn in the forest is  
     pleasant,  
 Wandering over dead leaves is a pleasant thing too,  
 But, as to what is in a single man's mind I am  
     very clear,  
 To-day, I am not in a highflown mood.

I have no love for, nor fear of it,  
 I know the weight of the things it brings,  
 I am smiling, peacefully sitting in front of my  
     window,  
 When the wind comes and says in its menacing tone:  
     Autumn's come, Mr. Wangshu!

There are several Jammesian images and linguistic devices to be discovered in the poem. The most obvious is the image of the 'pipe' which Dai found too attractive to resist. Dai's second line is redolent of the first line of one of Jammes' many poems containing the image: "J'ai fumé ma pipe en terre et j'ai vu les bœufs," (I smoked my clay pipe and saw the oxen).<sup>77</sup> 'L'eau coule' has the line: "Mais à présent, je souris en fumant ma pipe" (But for now, I smile, smoking my pipe), which is similar also to line 15 in 'Qiutian': "I am smiling, peacefully sitting in front of my window."<sup>78</sup>

The image of the fallen or dead leaf is, as Cherkassky has noted, regularly employed by Jammes, as for instance in 'Une feuille morte tombe...' and may have been borrowed by Dai.<sup>79</sup> But perhaps more

striking is the resemblance between the last lines of  
'Salle à manger' (already referred to above), a clearly  
animistic poem:

Et je souris que l'on me pense seul vivant  
quand un visiteur me dit en entrant:  
— comment allez-vous, monsieur Jammes?<sup>80</sup>

[And I smile when people think I alone am living  
when a visitor says on coming in:  
How are you, monsieur Jammes?]

and the last few

lines of 'Autumn':

I am smiling, peacefully sitting in front of my  
window,  
when the wind comes and says in its menacing tone:  
Autumn's come, Mr. Wangshu!

But even linguistic turns of phrase are re-used. Note, for instance, that in Dai's translation of 'Salle à manger', he connects the last two lines of the first stanza thus: ...是錯了/因為... (mistaken/ Because...) and in 'Qiutian' he borrows this formula for his own poem, in lines 3 and 4 of the second stanza: ...認她是好友是錯了/因為....<sup>81</sup>

It would be easy to accuse Dai of plagiarism, but Dai was doing just what generations of Chinese poets before had done: using phrases and images of another's work as a starting point, as an allusion, or quite simply because the poem providing the inspiration was appealing. Dai, of course, made no secret of his admiration for Jammes, translating and publishing the very poems from which, as we have seen, he borrowed.

Although Dai had broken the habit of relying on traditional Chinese poetic devices, and rid his

poetry of French linguistic intrusions, it does seem that Jammes had become his new prop in his attempt to attain poetic autonomy. For this reason, it cannot be said that Dai had reached full maturity with the latter section of *Wo de jiyi*, although he had made a significant advance in his poetic growth.

How then had Dai achieved something "quite novel", as Du Heng described it? The new simplicity achieved with 'Wo de jiyi' and subsequent poems has already been remarked upon and recalling the notion formulated by Russian Formalists and Czech Structuralists, the simplicity itself could be said to be 'foregrounding' Dai's new style, not only against the background of the "poetic diction of the received poetic tradition" but also against the background of other attempts at Chinese New Poetry and more significantly against Dai's own previous poetic efforts, such as 'Rainy alley'.<sup>82</sup>

Is this then the beginning of Dai's transformation into a Chinese exponent of Modernism? Certainly, the Modernistic qualities of the metaphor of the 'memory' in 'Wo de jiyi' are evident and, as Cherkassky has noted, the 'memory' is not new to Chinese literature but Dai has treated it in a wholly new fashion.<sup>83</sup> As already noted, one of the tenets of Modernism, indeed, a "basic ambition of the modernists [is] to translate raw experience into immortal form by renewing the means of expression."<sup>84</sup>

Dai was to put it more straightforwardly himself in his own poetic theory a few years later:

The Symbolists have said: Nature is a harlot who has been debauched a thousand times. But who can tell if the *new* harlot has not been debauched ten thousand times.

The number of times does not matter in the least, but we need a new instrument and a new method of debauchery.<sup>85</sup>

The reference to Symbolism is significant, as is Dai's own Symbolist apprenticeship, since it was, as we have seen, the "symbolist tradition which directly or indirectly nourished" most early Modernist writers.<sup>86</sup>

Jammes—who was a great debaucher of Nature—was not, after all, a Symbolist per se, although he was part of the Modernist-Symbolist tradition, and is better described as a 'neo-' or 'post-Symbolist'. It was at a similar point that Dai had now seemingly arrived.

Let us turn to other poems of the third section of *Wo de jiyi* and attempt to discern further modernistic traits.

In this third section, while we are able to find proof of Dai's modernistic tendencies, reading through the section from the title poem to the ultimate 'Duan zhi' 斷指 (Severed finger), the early signs of such tendencies re-surface but rarely and are sometimes submerged altogether. We expect Modernist poetry to shock the poetic sensibilities, to disorient the reader in order to make its impact. And yet we

find the poem 'Ye shi' 夜是 (Night is) which, with its Romantic imagery and allusions, is seemingly out of place. The poem may, of course, pre-date 'Wo de jiyi' but nevertheless the poet has chosen to place it in this third, generally more mature, section and however disconcerting it may appear, in the search for traces of Dai's nascent Modernism, it cannot be overlooked:

## 夜 是

夜是清爽而溫暖，

飄過的風帶着青春和愛底香味，

我的頭是靠在你裸着的膝上，

你想笑，而我却哭了。

溫柔的是縊死在你底髮上，

牠是那麼長，那麼細，那麼香，

但是我是怕着，那飄過的風

要把我們底青春帶去。

我們只是被年海底波濤

挾着飄去的可憐的 epaves。

不要講古舊的 romance 和理想的夢國了，

縱然你有柔情，我有眼淚。

我是怕着：那飄過的風

已把我們底青春和別人底一同帶去了；

愛呵，你起來找一下吧，

牠可曾把我們底愛情帶去。

The night is clear and warm,  
 The wind blowing past carries the youthful  
     spring and scent of love:  
 My head rests on your naked knees,  
 You feel like smiling but I feel more like  
     sobbing.

Tender would it be to hang myself in the  
     strands of your hair,  
 It is so long, so fine, so fragrant,  
 But I fear that the wind blowing past  
 will carry away our youth.

We are just pitiful sinking *épaves* §  
 caught up in the waves of the sea of ages  
 Don't talk of ancient *romance* and ideal  
     dream-worlds,  
 Even if you have your tenderness, I have  
     my tears..

I am afraid: that the wind blowing past  
 has carried off our youth together with the  
     youth of others;  
 My love, get up and have a look,  
 It could have carried off our love.

§ *épaves*, wrecks

It has already been mentioned that the influence of French Romanticism is discernible in some of Dai's poems. With 'Ye shi', we have textual proof of that influence. Dai himself has furnished the reader with the source of the allusion 'nian hai' 年海 (sea of ages)(line 9, original; line 10 translation).<sup>88</sup> It is taken from Lamartine's 'Le Lac'.<sup>89</sup> The original phrase, "l'océan des âges", is contained within a poem dealing with the passage of time, from which Dai obviously drew his inspiration. The first stanza reads:

Ainsi, toujours poussés vers des nouveaux rivages,  
 Dans la nuit éternelle emportés sans retour,  
 Ne pourrons-nous jamais sur l'océan des âges  
     Jeter l'ancre un seul jour? 90

[So, always pushed towards new shores,  
 Carried forever into the eternal night,

Shall we never be able to cast anchor in  
the sea of ages for a single day?]

And compare Dai's imagery: "piaoguo de feng" 飘过的风  
(The wind blowing past)(lines 2 & 7); "...ai de xiang-  
wei" 爱的香味(scent of love) (line 2) , and the image  
of the two lovers, with the last stanza of 'Le Lac':

Que le vent qui gémit, le roseau qui soupire,  
Que les parfums légers de ton air embaumé,  
.....

Tout dise: "Ils ont aimé!" 91

[May the murmuring, wind, the sighing reed,  
May the light perfumes of your scented air,  
.....

All say: "They loved!" ]

The mood is similar to many of Dai's poems dealing with love and lovers; even when the love of a woman is assured, the poet doubts it and its loss is feared. In this instance the enemy is the "wind of time". Dai seems to have been attracted by the passage of time which probably accounts for his admiration of the tales and essays of the Spaniard, Azorin, whose main thematic preoccupation was with time.<sup>92</sup>

Most of the remaining poems in this section are in a neo-Symbolist, Jammesian, mould and do not greatly advance Dai's poetic growth.

The sad dream-world of Jammes is reflected in both 'Duzi de shihou' 独白的时候 (When alone) and 'Duiyu tian de huaixiangbing' 对于天的怀想病 (Homesickness for the sky). The solitary melancholy figure sitting alone in his room, reflectively smoking is how Jammes

portrays himself in several of his poems and it is just such a figure that Dai describes in the first stanzas of each of the two afore-cited poems:

房裏曾充滿過清朗的笑聲，  
正如花園裏充滿過薔薇；  
人在滿積着的夢的灰塵中抽煙，  
沈想着消逝了的音樂。

93

The room had been full with resounding laughter,  
Just like a garden which has been full of roses,  
A man is smoking in the midst of dust filled dreams,  
Contemplating music that has withered away.

懷鄉病，懷鄉病，  
這或許是一切有一張有些憂鬱的臉，  
一顆悲哀的心，  
而且老是緘默着，  
還抽着一支煙斗的  
人們的生涯吧。

94

Homesickness, homesickness,,  
This is perhaps the life  
Of all who  
Have a slightly melancholy face,  
A sad heart,  
Are always silent,  
And smoke a pipe.

Compare with these lines from Jammes' 'L'eau coule':



Mais à présent, je souris en fumant ma pipe.  
 Les rêves que j'ai eus étaient comme les pies  
 qui filent. J'ai réfléchi. J'ai lu des romans. 95

[But for now, I smile while smoking my pipe.  
 The dreams I've had were like magpies  
 swishing past. I've pondered. I've read novels]

The poem 'Lu shang de xiao yu' 路上的小語 (A  
 little chat on the road) throws up the possibility of  
 yet another neo-Symbolist influence:

——給我吧，姑娘，那朵簪在你髮上的  
 小小的青色的花。  
 牠是會使我想起你底溫柔來的。

### 路上的小語

96

Give me, lass, that tiny blue flower you wear  
 in your hair.  
 It makes me think of your tenderness.

While bearing a certain resemblance to Jammes' conversation piece, 'Je pense à vous', the poem shows traces of a different influence.<sup>97</sup> In fact the evidence suggests that Dai found inspiration for the imagery and theme in a poem by Paul Fort—whom Du Heng suspects influenced Dai's poetry—which Dai had translated and published, first in *Wugui lieche* (in 1928) and again, with revisions, in *Xin wenyi* (in 1930).<sup>98</sup> Fort was a prominent *vers-libriste* and his association with

the theatre may have influenced him to adopt a spoken-word style in his poetry, as seen in the poem 'J'ai des p'tites fleurs bleues'—translated by Dai—from the monumental *Ballades françaises et chroniques de France* (1897-1937) in which free-verse becomes rhythmic prose.

Certain phrases of 'J'ai des p'tites fleurs bleues' in particular seem to have attracted Dai's attention and the phrases, as translated by Dai, are deployed in 'Lu shang de xiao yu'.<sup>99</sup> Compare the latter with Fort's poem:

J'ai des p'tites fleurs bleues, j'ai des p'tites  
fleurs bleues plus claires que tes yeux:— *Donne!*  
— Elle sont à moi, elles ne sont à personne. Tout  
en haut du mont, ma mie, tout en haut du mont. (Italics  
mine).<sup>100</sup>

[I've got some little blue flowers, I've got  
some little blue flowers brighter than your eyes.—  
Give them to me! — They're mine, they're nobody's.  
Right at the top of the mountain, darling, right  
at the top of the mountain.]

In addition to the phrases borrowed by Dai, note also the conversational style common to both poems. If this was an imitation of Fort's style then Dai was not to employ it often and, indeed, there is little further evidence of Fort's influence on Dai's poetry; unless it is to be sought in Dai's emphatic abandonment of regular rhyme and rhythm.

It is with Dai's last poem in *Wo de jiyi* that we may pick up further clues of Dai's Modernist inclinations.

Coming after the poems just discussed, and

even when compared with the title poem of the collection, 'Duan zhi' 斷指 (Severed finger) is nothing if not astonishing.

'Duan zhi', while retaining the mood of sadness and gloom of most of the rest of the volume, is nevertheless unique in its style and content. It provides ample opportunity to discuss the emergent Modernism of Dai's poetry:

## 斷指

在一口老舊的，滿積着灰塵的書廚中，  
我保存着一個浸在酒精瓶中的斷指；  
每當無聊地去翻尋古籍的時候，  
牠就含愁地向我訴說一個使我悲哀的記憶。

牠是被截下來的，從我一個已犧牲了的朋友底手上，  
牠是慘白的，枯瘦的，和我的友人一樣，  
時常緊繫着我的，而且是很分明的，  
是他將這斷指交給我的時候的情景：

「爲我保存着這可笑又可憐的戀愛的紀念吧，望舒，  
在零落的生涯中，牠是只能增加我的不幸的了。」  
牠的話是舒緩的，沈着的，像一個嘆息，  
而他的眼中似乎是含着淚水，雖然微笑是在臉上。

關於他的「可憐又可笑的愛情」我是一些也不知道。

我知道的只是他是在一個工人家裏被捕去的，

隨後是酷刑吧，隨後是慘苦的牢獄吧。

隨後是死刑吧，那等待着我們大家的死刑吧。

關於他「可笑又可憐的愛情」我是一些也不知道。

他從未對我談起過，即使在喝醉了酒時；

但是我猜想這一定是一段悲哀的故事，他隱藏着，

他想使牠跟着截斷的手指一同被遺忘了。

這斷指上沾染着油墨底痕跡，

是赤色的，是可愛的，光輝的赤色的，

牠很燦爛地在這截斷的手指上，

正如他責備別人底懦怯的目光在我們底心頭一樣。

這斷指常帶了輕微又黏着的悲哀給我，

但是牠在我又是一件很有用的珍品，

每當爲了一件瑣事而頹喪的時候，我會說：

「好，讓我拿出那個玻璃瓶來罷。」

101

In an old bookcase covered in the dust of years,  
I keep a severed finger steeped in a bottle of alcohol,  
Whenever in boredom I go and browse through old books  
4 It sorrowfully arouses a saddening memory in me.

This is the finger of an already sacrificed friend of  
mine,  
It is wretchedly white, emaciated, just like my friend;  
Often entangling me, and very clear  
8 Is the scene when he handed the finger over to me:

"Keep this memento of risible and pitiful love, for me,  
In this wreck of a life, it can only increase my  
unhappiness."

His speech was leisurely and considered, like a sigh,  
12 and although there was a smile on his face, his eyes  
seemed to hold back tears.

And as for his "risible and pitiful love" I just don't  
know,  
All I know is that he was arrested in a worker's house,  
Afterwards, I suppose, he was tortured, afterwards was  
in a miserable gaol,  
16 Afterwards was sentenced to death, the death sentence  
that hangs over all of us.

As for his "risible and pitiful love" I just don't know,  
He never spoke to me about it, even when he was drunk.  
But I think it must be a sad tale, he concealed it,  
20 Just like the severed finger he wants it to be forgotten.

This severed finger is still stained with traces of  
printing ink,  
It is crimson, an adorable splendid crimson,  
so bright on this severed finger,  
Just like his look, so disapproving of others'  
faint-heartedness, in my heart. §

This severed finger often brings me slight yet sticky  
sadness,  
But it is this that makes it such a very useful  
treasure,  
Whenever I am gloomy because of some insignificant  
thing,  
I can say : "Right, let's take out the glass bottle."

§ 'My' should read 'our' according to the original  
text, but this was altered in subsequent editions  
to 'wo' / 'my'; here it is probably a printing error.

At first sight this exceptional poem would  
seem to be far more down-to-earth than much of Dai's  
poetry thus far explored. If we accept that Modernist  
writing tends towards the Symbolist, 'writerly' and  
metaphoric and that realism tends towards, naturally,  
realism, 'the readerly' and the metonymic, where is  
this poem to be placed?

Let us examine the first stanza. The language  
is realistic enough, there is apparently no use of

metaphor or simile but it does however strike the reader because of the second line. Although the presence of the "severed finger" is explained later in the poem, it is introduced abruptly; we do not expect to find a line like "finger steeped in a bottle of alcohol"(line 2) after a line such as "an old book-case covered with the dust of years" (line 1).

Because the line is odd and unexpected, it is even more disconcerting than the image of a "severed finger" would normally be. But what we cannot apparently say is that the line is unauthenticated by context.

In the lines of T.S. Eliot's 'Prufrock' : "Let us go then, you and I./ When the evening is spread out against the sky,/ Like a patient etherized upon a table." , it is definitely the case that the line is "not authenticated by context"—there are no further references to medicine in the text—and there is thus a "violation of context".<sup>102</sup>

There is in 'Severed finger' an undoubted break in context in the first stanza but the poet later narrates how the finger came into his possession and is thus partly authenticated by context, but only to a certain degree: we know how the finger came into the narrator's possession but not why or how it came to be severed.

Despite the apparent realism of the fourth stanza with its "worker's house" and the arrest, tort-

ure and probable death of the "sacrificed friend", the reader is as ignorant of detail and background as the 'I' of the poem claims to be.

The poet hints at what his friend might have been, why he was thus afflicted. Perhaps he has been crossed in love, but then why should he lose his finger? Was it severed in a fit of Van Goghian pique? The finger is stained with printer's ink, are we to assume then that the friend is a political activist—for which activity he has been arrested? But the finger is described as a souvenir of "risible and pitiful love": does that imply that the revolution is the love? If this were so there would be a paradox in the owner of the finger wishing to forget the symbolism of the finger while the poet treasures its memory. In any case the friend is apparently arrested some time after the finger has been "handed over" and thus presumably was still engaged in his activities.

This confusion is deliberate, we are supposed to be left with this mood of mystery and incongruity. But the mood seems to be more disorienting for the reader than the poet's previously created neo-Symbolist moods, although he still relies on the "sadness" (line 21) and "gloom" (line 23) of his established poetic emotions, which are in this instance supplied by the poet's "memory" (line 4) of the occasion when his friend handed over this 'token' to him; he reacts, in turn, to the emotions of the friend within this

scene. His reaction is, however, quite odd.

The poem is not revealed to be written in a metonymic mode, hardly 'readerly' and not realistic. In the explanation of circumstances surrounding the "severed finger", far from providing a lucid context, the poet attempts to mystify further. He does not know about the "risible and pitiful love", he only knows that he was arrested (line 14); constituting another break in context, as we are thrown from a discussion of the friend's seeming unhappiness in love, to his arrest.

And what is the reader intended to understand from "...the death sentence that hangs over all of us" — "us", the revolutionaries or "us", humanity?

This is not a poem written in a realistic mode, in any accepted sense. It is not a poem in the Realist vein, when compared with other modern Chinese Realist poetry. It does not discuss realistically the life of real people. It owes little to Realism and its air of mystery and opaque inconclusive suggestiveness are similar to the proto-Modernism of Maeterlinck.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, in departing from the poetic norm in what is acceptable as content, it goes further. Poetic decorum is violated in the slightly macabre and unconventional response to the 'severed finger': "such a very useful treasure."

Moreover, and outside of the ken of the reader, the poem is unrealistic in that it is not based on



a real experience.<sup>104</sup> There was no friend, there was no finger. Doubtless Dai knew of people who had been arrested and imprisoned, but the rest is pure invention. The poet is not attempting to interpret any real events but is undertaking an exercise in breaking poetic conventions. The 'severed finger', which in the poem evokes perhaps the memory of someone who died in a revolutionary cause, who perhaps was crossed in love, but which in any case is shrouded in nebulous significance for the narrator, emerges as a possible metaphor for the "death sentence that hangs over all of us".

The poem, for all its initial apparent realism, attempts to evoke, suggest and finally to create an aura of mystery rather than describe and explain. Such Symbolist qualities, together with the 'violations' of poetic norms, would tend to declare the poem as Modernist.

\*

By the age of twenty-four Dai Wangshu had achieved a bright reputation as a modern Chinese poet; a poet who for many had made the vernacular language sing poetically for the first time. More objectively, it can be said in retrospect that between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-four—when the poet's verses were first collected—Dai had cultivated an idiom suitable for the furtherance of his poetic career.

The idiom was no longer rooted in the poetic

sentiments, nor trapped in the linguistic web, of classical Chinese poetry, but while attaining originality as far as the Chinese reader was concerned, neither was this new idiom entirely of the poet's own creation. He was indebted to the mood of French Romanticism and latterly to the Modernist-Symbolist tradition. Only when nearing the end of this three year period, spanned by *Wo de jiyi*, did Dai seem to be nurturing a more adventurous synthesis of expression drawing to a great extent on the language, rhythm and poetic spirit of the neo-Symbolist poet, Jammes.

Perhaps it is the free verse style, capable of holding all manner of poetic intentions, which emerges as the greatest accomplishment. After Dai's early preoccupations with form, as seen in the poems of "Jiu jinnang", his verse assumed a free and versatile style, simple and unhampered, for the most part, by obsolete poetic devices and forms whether Chinese or Western.

Although a certain movement towards the Modernist extreme within the Modernist-Symbolist tradition may be discerned in several of his later poems, there is at this stage in Dai's growth no definite pattern, except, of course, for the pervading sentiment of melancholy and a growing emphasis on the Jammesian mode of expression which but occasionally verges on the purely Modernist.

Even when later in his career the poet showed

clear signs of his Modernist bias, he remained famous for the kind of Chinese Symbolism brought to perfection in 'Rainy alley'; ironically, as we have seen, a poem the poet would rather have disowned, for he saw himself as going further than pure Symbolism.

Even so, the most significant factor of this early period of growth was without doubt the poet's exploration of nineteenth and twentieth-century French poets and his emulation of their craft. In later phases of his career the poet's infatuation with foreign literature would continue while confidence in his own inventive expression would slowly increase.

## CHAPTER VI

### LOVES LOST, VISIONS GAINED:

#### THE POEMS OF WANG SHUCAO

Est-ce que tu te figures que c'est amusant  
d'être poète à vingt-huit ans?

F. Jammes, 'Ecoute, dans le jardin...' <sub>1</sub>

The volume *Wangshu cao* «望舒草» [Rough drafts of Wangshu] was published, after the poet's departure for France, in 1933; although it had been completed late in 1932.<sup>2</sup>

Of the forty-one poems, seven had been published in *Wo de jiyi*.<sup>3</sup> All but three of the remaining thirty-four had been previously published in literary magazines; a fact which is of great assistance in the dating of the poems. It would seem that none of the poems were written specifically with a planned volume in mind, rather they were collected and published in more or less the chronological order in which they first appeared in periodicals.

There seems to be no tightly unifying scheme or style to the work; although most of the first dozen new poems are tinged with the melancholy, amorous disappointment and loneliness of *Wo de jiyi*. However, the 'second half' of the volume—roughly from 'Cun gu' 村姑 (country girl), 'Er yue' 二月 (February) and 'Xiao

bing' 小病 (Slight illness) onwards—is of a different order, there is an expansion of ideas and expression.

And yet, although new ideas and inspiration are drawn into the poet's poetic vocabulary, Dai never abandons the themes of nostalgia and loneliness; the fundamental isolation of the individual. But should it be surprising that Dai's second book of verse—and even as we shall see, his later books—retains similar, albeit modified, sentiments? The poet reflects his own life and his reactions to life in his contemporary situation; in this case the maelstrom of Republican China. His poetic personality being already formed, there was little of an extraneous nature to cause those traits to be extinguished.

This concept could not be better expressed than in the words of Nadezhda Mandelstam:

As they follow one another, books of verse reflect the consecutive ideas in a poet's life and thought, displaying the structure that underlies them; in some poets the inner dynamic thus revealed is supplied by the external events of their biographies, but in others...by their spiritual growth alone. *Some themes may be present throughout the poet's life, but they will assume different aspects at different stages or in different books.* (My italics).<sup>4</sup>

Turning to the question of style, much of the volume is written in a Modernistic neo-Symbolist vein but there are definite excursions into a more distinctly Modernist style. As the volume progresses the poetry becomes less derivative while incorporating Sym-

bolist devices more coherently.

In a neo-Symbolist vein and indicating a less 'readerly' approach, is the first new poem of *Wangshu cao*, 'Yinxiang' 印像 (Impressions):

印  
像

是飄落深谷去的  
幽微的鈴聲吧，  
是航到煙水去的  
小小的漁船吧，  
如果是青色的真珠；  
牠已墮到古井的開水裏。  
林梢閃著的頹唐的殘陽，  
牠輕輕地斂去了  
跟着臉上淺淺的微笑。  
從一個寂寞的地方起來的，  
迢遙的，寂寞的嗚咽，  
又徐徐回到寂寞的地方，寂寞地。

5

It is the faint chiming of bells  
Wafting down into the deep valley,  
It is the tiny fishing boat  
Sailing into misty waters,  
If it is a black pearl,  
It has already fallen into the gloomy  
waters of the old well.

In the tree tops there are flashes of  
the dejected sun,  
Softly it shrinks away,  
Following the vague smile on a face.

Risen from a lonely place,  
Distant, solitary sobbing,  
Then slowly returns to the lonely  
place alone.

Although found at the beginning of Dai's second volume of verse, the poem was in fact the last poem of all the new poems in *Wangshu cao* to be published in a literary magazine. It appeared in *Xiandai* in May 1932; almost two years after most of the poems in the first half of the volume had first been published in periodicals. Perhaps—and this is possible—

Dai had written it as early as 1929 and held it back from publication or perhaps having composed the poem in 1932 Dai nevertheless preferred to present it as the first new poem in the volume without regard for chronological order, because of its novel style.<sup>6</sup>

There is, however, one clue to its possible date of composition. In 1929, Dai read and translated poems from Maurice Maeterlinck's *Serres chaudes*.<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a remarkable similarity in style between Maeterlinck's "beautiful nonsense" and Dai's 'Impressions'.<sup>8</sup> Maeterlinck was concerned with examining the "undefinable force underlying all existence", to which end he employed the language of Modernism.<sup>9</sup> The total exploitation of the metaphoric mode, which surpasses the *correspondances* of the early Symbolists, with its enumeration of metaphors, as in 'Impressions', can be seen in Maeterlinck's 'Regards':

O ces regards pauvres et las!

.....

Il y en a comme des malades sans maison,  
Il y en a comme des agneaux dans une prairie  
couverte de linges. 10

[Oh these poor and weary glances!

.....

There are those like homeless invalids  
There are those like lambs in a meadow  
covered in linen.]

And the title poem from Maeterlinck's volume, 'Serre chaude' shows even more clearly the dependance on juxtaposition:

O serre chaude au milieu des forêts!  
Et vos portes à jamais closes!

.....

Examinez au clair de lune!

.....  
 Un navire de guerre à pleines voiles  
     sur un canal,  
 Des oiseaux de nuit sur des lys,  
 Un glas vers midi,  
 (Là-bas sous ces cloches!)  
 Une étape de malades dans la prairie,  
 Une odeur d'éther un jour de soleil.<sup>11</sup>

[Oh hot-house in the middle of forests,  
 And your doors never shut!

.....  
 Explore in the moonlight!

.....  
 A man-of-war, all sails set on a canal,  
 Night-birds on lilies,  
 A passing-bell around noon,  
 (There under those bells!)  
 A stage of sick people in the meadow,  
 A smell of ether on a sunny day.]

Maeterlinck's *Serres Chaudes* contains some of the first free verse poems to be published in France and many of his devices were to prove fashionable with other writers. It is in the sphere of devices that Dai Wangshu may have taken a lead from the Belgian poet. Enumeration and the juxtaposition of apparently unrelated images were used by Maeterlinck to evoke the incongruity of a world which renders the individual helpless; some of these devices are used in 'Impressions' to evoke just such a helplessness. In Dai's poem it is the sun which carries the sense of isolation and loneliness: "distant, solitary sobbing" (line 11). The imagery in Dai's poem is different but the similarity is there all the same.

The extensive use of metaphor, the dislocations of context, this jumbling of images, all used to evoke a mood, suffice to mark the poem as Modernist.



In some ways Maeterlinck may be considered a father of Modernism; although still employing the trappings of Symbolism, there is a modern tone evoked in the atmosphère he creates.<sup>12</sup>

We find this tone reflected in several of Dai's new poems: the jumbling of imagery, outside objects and events turned inwards to portray a state of mind. After all, Modernist writing "is concerned with consciousness, and also with the subconscious and unconscious workings of the human mind. Hence the structure of external 'objective' events...is diminished in scope or scale...in order to make room for introspection, analysis, reflection and reverie".<sup>13</sup> Although Dai hereafter refrained from following Maeterlinck down the road to the absurd, many other aspects of Modernist writing may be found in Dai's work. Perhaps 'reverie' is the 'keynote' in many of his poems.

In another poem we see the anniversary of the death of a friend as the starting point for thought and dreams. But in 'Jiri' 祭日 (Day for Sacrifice), while there may be echoes of influences, there emerges a style which is distinctly that of Dai Wangshu:

## 祭日

今天是亡魂的祭日。

我想起了我的死去了六年的友人。

或許他已老一點了，悵惜他愛嬌的妻，

他哭泣着的女兒，他剪斷了的青春。

他一定是瘦了，過着飄泊的生涯，在幽冥中，

但他的忠誠的目光是永遠保留着的，

而我還聽到他往昔的熟稔有勁的聲音，

「快樂嗎，老戴？」（快樂唔，我現在已沒有了。）

他不會忘記了我：這我是很知道的，

因為他還來找我，每月一二次，在我夢裏，

他老是饒舌的，雖則他已歸於永恆的沈寂，

而他帶着憂鬱的微笑的長談使我悲哀。

我已不知道他的妻和女兒到那裏去了，

我不敢想起她們，我甚至不敢問他，在夢裏；

當然她們不會過着幸福的生涯的

像我一樣，像我們大家一樣。

快樂一點吧，因為今天是亡魂的祭日；

我已為你預備了在我算是豐盛了的晚餐，

你可以找到我園裏的鮮果，

和那你所嗜好的陳威士忌酒。

我們的友誼是永遠地柔和的，

而我將和你談着幽冥中的快樂和悲哀。

To-day is the day for sacrifice to souls of the dead,  
 I think of my friend who died six years ago.  
 Perhaps he's aged a little, upset about the wife he  
     doted on,  
 His weeping daughter, his own best years cut short.

He must certainly be thinner, living a wandering  
     existence in the nether world,  
 But the vision of his honest heart goes on forever,  
 And I can still hear his strong and familiar voice  
     of years gone by,  
 "Happy, Old Dai?" (Happy, huh, not any more.)

He cannot have forgotten me: of that I am sure,  
 Because he still comes to look for me once or twice  
     a month in my dreams,  
 He is always chatty, although he has gone to the  
     eternal stillness,  
 And his long conversation which bears a troubled  
     smile makes me sad.

I don't know where his wife and daughter went,  
 I daren't think about them, I daren't even ask him  
     in dreams,  
 Of course they can't have been able to lead a happy  
     life,  
 Just like me, just like all of us.

Cheer up a bit, because to-day is the day for sacrifice  
     to souls of the dead.  
 I have prepared for you what for me rates as a splendid  
     dinner,  
 You will find fresh fruit from my garden,  
 And that mellow whisky you are so fond of.  
 Our friendship will always be harmonious,  
 And I shall chat to you about the joys and sorrows of  
     the nether world.

Gone now are Maeterlinckian devices, all that  
 is similar between them now are the allusions to the  
 misfortunes of life. The poem is 'readerly' and yet  
 is on a plane of mystery rather than reality. Gone  
 are the metaphors, all that jolts the reader is the  
 apparent communication with the dead, but since this  
 was a common Chinese belief and the poet is describing  
 a Chinese custom there is nothing very startling in  
 this.

What is of interest in this poem is the poet's

return to familiar themes and ideas. There are no details of this friend nor his death and as in 'Severed finger' many questions are left unanswered. And as in 'Severed finger' there is that unexplained allusion to the universality of fate: "Of course, they can't have been able to lead a happy life,/just like me, just like all of us." (lines 7-8) which is reminiscent of "Afterwards was sentenced to death, the death sentence that hangs over all of us." ('Severed finger', line 16). Is the unhappiness, the 'death sentence', common to humanity, the poet's own circle or to all those who were living through those traumatic years of China's history?

There is that Jammesian simplicity of language again which reminds us once more of 'Severed finger'. And once more, the poet is attempting to create a mood within the reader, to force him to question and imagine, to associate with the sentiments expressed in the poem.

The poem like so many others, and in this respect too it brings Jammes to mind, relies on memories, dreams, the intangible which give rise to nostalgia; a nostalgia which is sometimes for the real past but more often for sentiments and images of people and things which have never existed. When Dai builds up a sensation of nostalgia or even when he mentions it by name it is not necessarily a nostalgia for the real world.

In 'Dao wo zheli lai' 到我這里來 (Come here to me) the woman who is the object of affection "no longer exists" if she ever did. She is a memory, a chimera momentarily brought to life for the reader, though barely described.

### 到我這裏來

到我這裏來，假如你還存在著，  
全裸着，披散了你的髮絲：  
我將對你說那祇有我們兩人懂得的話。  
我將對你說為什麼薔薇有金色的花瓣，  
為什麼你有溫柔而馥郁的夢，  
為什麼錦葵會從我們的窗間探首進來。

人們不知道的一切我們都會深深了解，  
除了我的手的顫動和你的心的奔跳；  
不要怕我發着異樣的光的眼睛，  
向我來：你將在我的臂間找到舒適的臥榻。  
可是，啊，你是不存在着了，  
雖則你的記憶還使我溫柔地顫動，  
而我是徒然地等待着，每一個傍晚，  
在菩提樹下，沈思地，抽着煙。

15

Come here to me, if you still exist,  
Naked, letting your hair hang loose:  
I shall say some things which only we  
two can understand,

I shall tell you why the rose has golden petals,  
Why you have tender and sweet smelling dreams,  
Why the dahlias are able to peep in through the  
window.

All the things that others do not know we  
 understand to the full,  
 Except for the trembling of my hand and the  
 thumping of your heart,  
 Do not fear the strange brilliance of my eyes  
 Come closer: in my arms you will find a comfort-  
 able couch.

But, oh, you no longer exist,  
 Yet your memory still makes me gently tremble,  
 And I wait for you in vain every night,  
 Under the Bodhi tree, Thoughtfully smoking.

The mood is distinctly Jammesian, again the  
 'smoking' posture (last line) and the opaque and  
 ephemeral woman. But it is not only the mood which  
 echoes Jammes; the unnamed but distinctly borrowed  
 heroine is none other than the Frenchman's Clara  
 d'Ellébeuse:

Viens, viens, ma chère Clara d'Ellébeuse:  
 Aimons-nous encore si tu existes.  
 Le vieux jardin a de vieilles tulipes.  
 Viens toute nue, ô Clara d'Ellébeuse.

(J'aime dans le temps...) <sup>16</sup>

[Come, come, my dear Clara d'Ellébeuse  
 Let us love again *if you exist*.  
 The old garden has old tulips,  
 Come *naked*, oh Clara d'Ellébeuse.]

The debt to Jammes is evident. But as for  
 the rest of the imagery perhaps it has some basis in  
 Dai's own experience.

Obviously Dai was still very attached to  
 Jammesian themes and in particular his ephemeral  
 heroines.

Soon after writing this poem Dai published  
 several poems with this *nostalgie* as the leitmotif,  
 in which Dai is perhaps less derivative; the heroines  
 while still reminding us of those of Jammes appear

to be Japanese and the imagery is consequently of a different ilk.

First of these poems is 'Baihezi' 百合子 (Yuriko) which when first published was entitled simply: 'Shao nü' 少女 (Young woman):

### 百合子

百合子是懷鄉病的可憐的患者，  
因為她的家是在燦爛的櫻花叢裏的；  
我們徒然有百尺的高樓和沈迷的香夜，  
但溫暖的陽光和樸素的木屋總常在她緬想中。  
她度着寂寂的悠長的生涯，  
她盈盈的眼睛茫然地望着遠處；  
人們說她冷漠的是錯了，  
因為她沈思的眼裏是有着火燄。

她將使我為她而憔悴嗎？  
或許是的，但是誰能知道？  
有時她向我微笑着，  
而這憂鬱的微笑使我也墜入懷鄉病裏。  
她是冷漠的嗎？不。  
因為我們的眼睛是秘密地交談着；  
而她是醉一樣地合上了她的眼睛的，  
如果我輕輕地吻着她花一樣的嘴唇。

17

Yuriko is a pitiful victim of homesickness,  
Because her home lies amidst the brilliant  
blossoms of the cherry trees,  
Although we have a hundred foot high building  
and an enchanting, fragrant night,  
Warm sunbeams and plain wooden houses are  
always in her mind.

She passes her long days in loneliness,

Her brimming eyes stare blankly into the distance;  
 People who say she is cold are wrong,  
 Because her thoughtful eyes are full of fire.

Will she make me thin and pale over her?  
 Maybe, who can tell?  
 Sometimes she smiles at me,  
 Her melancholy smile makes me too sink into  
   homesickness.

Is she cold? No,  
 Because our eyes secretly talk together;  
 And she as though drunk closes her eyes,  
 If I softly kiss her blossom-like lips.

Again we see the established themes emerge:  
 nostalgia, for home, Japan-the land of the cherry  
 blossom-and perhaps for someone unmentioned; the  
 loneliness of the individual; melancholy.

She is also the typical opaque, mysterious and  
 almost untouchable girl we have come to know in Dai's  
 poetry. Again there is much of which the reader is  
 left in ignorance, left to imagine. The reader is, as  
 in 'Dao wo zheli lai' 到我这里来, informed of the ex-  
 clusiveness of the relationship, of the secrecy  
 between the hero and heroine: "I shall say some things  
 which only we two can understand" ('Dao wo zheli lai',  
 line 3); "Because our eyes secretly talk together"  
 ('Yuriko', line 13) which in the first version  
 continued: 人们所不懂的话 (Talk which others  
 do not understand).<sup>18</sup>

But the poem reveals not only the nostalgia of  
 the heroine but of the hero and of the poet. It is  
 for the poet nostalgia not for a distant home, nor  
 for the past but paradoxically for the present, an  
 imagined present, for the emotions and personalities



of the scene here depicted. It is a desire not for something lost but for something imagined which is evoked as if the girl here described existed only in relation to the poet, a private possession cherished in secret and conjured up in reverie. And what the poet creates is once more an atmosphere woven of emotions.

A fine example of this Symbolist evocation of emotions with but a few brush-strokes is the poem 'Fanyou' 煩憂 (Troubled). In a few short lines, with a few images redolent of the typical imagery of Symbolism, the poet sketches for the reader a complete picture of a melancholic depressed state of mind just enough detail for us to imagine the whys and wherefores:

說  
是  
寂  
寞  
的  
秋  
的  
惆  
悵。  
 說  
是  
遼  
遠  
的  
海  
的  
懷  
念。  
 假  
如  
有  
人  
問  
我  
煩  
憂  
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是  
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的  
海  
的  
懷  
念。  
 說  
是  
寂  
寞  
的  
秋  
的  
惆  
悵。

### 煩憂

19

Say it is the slight depression of a lonely Autumn,  
 Say it is the memory of a distant sea.  
 If people ask me the cause of my anxiety,  
 I dare not speak your name,  
 I dare not speak your name,  
 If people ask me the cause of my anxiety,  
 Say it is the memory of a distant sea,  
 Say it is the depression of a lonely Autumn.

Here again the enigmatic aura, the loneliness,

and apparent melancholy, together with the clever but simple device of the inverted repetition of the first stanza, makes for a typical Modernist-Symbolist poem. As I have remarked Dai is at his best when writing in simpler style, rather than when writing in a more elaborate yet derivative vein. This is demonstrated by the poem 'Wo de sumiao' 我的素描 (A simple sketch of myself) which while retaining the poet's common themes is distinguished by its simplicity of structure and straightforward approach:

### 我的素描

遼遠的國土的懷念者，  
我，我是寂寞的生物。

假如把我自己描畫出來，  
那是一幅單純的靜物寫生。

我是青春和衰老的集合體，  
我有健康的身體和病的心。

在朋友間我有爽直的名聲，  
在戀愛上我是一個低能兒。

因為當一個少女開始愛我的時候，  
我先就要懷然地惶恐。

我怕着溫存的眼睛，  
像怕初春詩空的朝陽。

我是高大的，我有光輝的眼，  
我用爽朗的聲音恣意談笑。

但在悵鬱的時候，我是沈默的，  
悵鬱着，用我二十四歲的整個的心。

Always wistful for my distant country,  
I am a lonely being.

If I were to sketch myself then,  
It would be as a simple still life.

I am green youth and feeble age in one,  
I have a healthy body and a sick heart.

Among my friends I have a reputation for being  
straightforward,  
In love I am an idiot.

Because whenever a girl starts to love me,  
I, at once, become tremblingly frightened.

I fear those kind attentive eyes;  
As I fear the morning sun in the blue sky of  
early Spring.

I am tall, I have radiant eyes;  
In a crisp voice I talk and laugh in a carefree  
fashion.

But when depressed, I am silent.  
Depressed from the bottom of my twenty four year  
old heart.

Here for once Dai is not overtly creating a  
Symbolist fiction. He is drawing an autobiographical  
picture which while being both apparently authentic  
and frank nevertheless invites sympathy.

A description of his physique, his social  
behaviour but most importantly of his emotions and  
moods, there is no mention here of intimate and  
secret communion with the fantasy heroine of earlier  
poems but rather a confession of his shyness and  
apprehensiveness in the face of women.

For all its verisimilitude it could not be  
classified as a Realist poem. It concentrates on the  
individual, it is introspective, it deals with inner  
emotions. The poem contrasts the superficial, man's  
exterior, with the subjective interior. It is the last  
stanza which provides the key: he is "depressed" and

"silent" and it is this mood of unexplained sorrow which is the high point of the poem.

Although apparently realistic and autobiographical the poet has engineered the gradual construction of the emotional effect he wants. And the standard themes are hinted at in his 'lonely' thinking about 'the distant country' — of his imagination?

A 'Simple Sketch' appears after all to be not so simple and not fundamentally out of character, and as if to underline this, the poem which follows in *Wangshu cao*, 'Dan lianzhe' 單戀者 (Unrequited lover) hardly constitutes a change of mood:

### 單戀者

我覺得我是在單戀着，  
但是我不知道是戀着誰：  
是一個在迷茫的煙水中的國土嗎，  
是一枝在靜默中零落的花嗎，  
是一位我記不起的陌路麗人嗎？  
我不知道。  
我知道的是我的胸膨脹着，  
而我的心悸動着，像在初戀中。

在頹倦的時候，  
我常是暗黑的街頭的踽踽者，  
我走遍了囂嚷的酒場，  
我不想回去，好像在尋找什麼。  
飄來一絲媚眼或是塞滿一耳膩語，  
那是常有的事。  
但是我會低聲說：  
「不是你！」然後踉蹌地又走向他處。  
人們稱我爲「夜行人」，  
儘便吧，這在我是一樣的；  
真的，我是一個寂寞的夜行人，  
而且又是一個可憐的單戀者。

I fear I am a victim of unrequited love,  
 But I don't know whom I love:  
 Is it some land amidst hazy misty waters,  
 Is it a withered flower in the silence,  
 Is it some beauty I met by chance and can't recall?  
 I don't know.

What I know is that my chest is inflated,  
 And my heart is throbbing, as with one's first love.

When feeling disturbed,  
 I often loiter on gloomy street corners  
 I do the rounds of the rowdy wine stalls,  
 I don't want to go back, it's as if I'm looking  
 for something.

A pair of enticing eyes float by, or an ear-full  
 of inciting words,  
 That kind of thing happens often.  
 But I will say in a low voice:  
 "It's not you!" then unsteadily move off somewhere  
 else.

People call me the "Night Walker";  
 I don't mind, it's all the same to me;  
 True, I am a lonely night walker,  
 And a pitiful unrequited lover too.

As in the last poem the poet talks of his  
 'guotu', his country or land of the imagination.  
 And the 'unknown' woman is the subject explored.

The scenario too is of a Baudelarian nature:  
 the night, the wine stalls, the fruitless search for  
 something unknown midst the importuning women of the  
 night evoke the spirit of ennui.

But the desire for this thing or person un-  
 known is surely drawn from the similar infatuations of  
 Verlaine and Jammes. For instance, in 'Yuriko' and  
 'Unrequited lover' we hear resonances of Verlaine's  
 'Mon rêve familier'.<sup>22</sup>

In 'Lao zhi jiang zhi' 老之将至 (Old age will  
 soon arrive) the pessimism and melancholy turn  
 typically into regret for a past not yet traversed;  
 another clarification of what nostalgia means in the

poet's emotional vocabulary. And again the images of 'memory' and the distinctive significance of Dai's floral images resurface:

### 老之將至

我怕自己將慢慢地慢慢地老去，  
隨着那遲遲寂寂的時間，  
而那每一個遲遲寂寂的時間，  
是將重重地載着無量的假惜的。  
而我堅而冷的圈椅中，在日暮，  
我將看見，在我昏花的眼前  
飄過那些模糊的暗淡的影子：  
一片嬌柔的微笑，一隻纖纖的手，  
幾雙燃着火焰的眼睛，  
或是幾點耀着珠光的眼淚。

是的，我將記不清楚了：  
在我耳邊低聲輕語着  
「在最適當的地方放你的嘴唇」的，  
是那櫻花一般的櫻子嗎？  
那是荀麗若嗎，飄着懶倦的眼  
望着她已卸了的錦緞的鞋子……  
這些，我將都記不清楚了，  
因為我老了。  
我說，我是擔憂着怕老去，  
怕這些記憶彫殘了，  
一片一片地，像花一樣，  
祇留着垂枯的枝條，孤獨地。

23

I am frightened that I shall slowly, slowly get old,  
In step with slow and quiet time,  
And each moment of that slow and quiet time  
Will bring burdens of immeasurable regret.

And in my cold and hard armchair, at dusk,  
I shall see before my dim eyes,  
Those hazy, faint shadows floating by:  
Sweet smiles, delicate hands,  
Pairs of blazing eyes,  
Or tears of gleaming pearls.

Yes, I shall be unable to quite recall:  
Soft and tender words in my ear—  
"Put your lips where they fit best,"  
Was it Cherry, that cherry blossom-like girl?  
Was it Ru Lidan casting that languid glance,

Staring at satin slippers just cast off,  
 These things I shan't remember,  
 Because I'll be old.

I mean I am fretful and fearful of getting old,  
 Fearful that these memories will wither away,  
 Petal by petal, like a flower,  
 Leaving only drooping wizened branches.

Memory is as we have seen a 'faithful friend'  
 to the poet. Now the poet realizes that it is but an  
 inadequate weapon in fighting the onslaught of time.

And yet the poem provides a vehicle for this  
 'Symbolist' woman; the hazy, faint disconnected images  
 of the ideal creature have merely been projected into  
 an imagined future. Moreover, the theme of nostalgia  
 is once again exploited but in a new guise: the apprehension of the deprivations of old age; it is a prediction of nostalgia yet to come.

The emotions the reader has come to expect are  
 all evoked or alluded to within this poem: melancholy  
 as regret for the past and the sadness of a solitude  
 in which the poet is abandoned even by his memories.

All this is reminiscent of Jammes' visions of  
 a sad and lonely existence interrupted only by flights  
 of the imagination. The element of time is also exploited and indeed, Time —closely associated with  
 memory— constitutes one of the great themes of poetry,  
 and in particular, of Modernist poetry:

Time present and time past  
 Are both perhaps present in time future,  
 And time future contained in time past.<sup>24</sup>

Dai has perhaps glimpsed this conundrum and  
 thus extends his vision of nostalgia beyond its trad-

itional dimensional bounds.

Less brooding, but still shrouding a veil of mystery over its female subject is 'Wo de lianren' 我的恋人 (My lover). As if written to contrast with the 'auto-biographical' 'Wo de sumiao' (A Simple sketch of myself) which was composed in such a self-deprecatory manner, the hero. of 'My lover' praises the virtues of the heroine. Is she Shi Jiangnian, the poet's fiancée or is she yet another invention? The answer is of little consequence as the poet treats her in such an idealistic manner: a self-effacing, affectionate beauty so reminiscent of his heroine of earlier poems:

### 我的戀人

我將對你說我的戀人，  
我的戀人是一個羞澀的人，  
她是羞澀的，有着桃色的臉，  
桃色的嘴唇，和一顆天青色的心。  
她有黑色的大眼睛，  
那不敢凝視我的黑色的大眼睛——  
不是不敢，那是因為她是羞澀的；  
而當我依在她胸頭的時候，  
你可以說她的眼睛是變換了顏色，  
天青的顏色，她的心顏色。

她有纖纖的手，  
牠會在我煩憂的時候安撫我，  
她有清朗而愛嬌的聲音，  
那是祇向我說着溫柔的，  
溫柔到銷熔了我的心的話的。  
她是一個靜嫻的少女，  
她知道如何愛一個愛她的人，  
但是我永遠不能對你說她的名字，  
因為她是一個羞澀的戀人。



I'll tell you about my lover,  
 My lover is a shy person,  
 She is shy, with a peach-coloured face  
 4 Peach-coloured lips and a sky-blue heart

She has large dark eyes,  
 Large dark eyes which do not stare at me—  
 It is not that she does not dare, it is  
     because she is shy;  
 And when I lean against her breast,  
 You can see her eyes change colour,  
 Sky blue, the colour of her heart.

12 She has delicate hands,  
 They can soothe me in times of trouble,  
 She has a clear and charming voice,  
 To speak affectionately just to me,  
 With words so affectionate they melt  
     my heart.

She is a poised young lady,  
 She knows how to love a man who loves  
     her,  
 But I shall never be able to tell you  
     her name,  
 20 Because she is a shy lover.

That the poet is intent on presenting an image of perfection is further proven by his suppression of a middle stanza which appeared in this poem when first published. A stanza which, if retained, would have blemished the picture of an almost divine creature and would also have provided a touch of realism, suggesting more strongly that the poem deals with a real woman and not a fictitious ideal partner:

她是爱我的，但是她永远不说，  
 她是沉默地，甚至伤感地爱着的，  
 是的，我很知道：  
 因为我问一个少女微笑的时候，  
 她是会背着人去低泣的。

26

She loves me, but never says so,  
 She is silently, even painfully loving,  
 Yes, I know well:  
 Because when I smile at a young woman,  
 She will secretly go and weep.

Why did Dai delete this stanza? Was it to better achieve the effect he was striving for or did the deletion take place for more personal reasons?

In any case, it is without doubt that the vision of this opaque, shy and caring ('She has delicate hands,/They can soothe me...', lines 12 & 13) and devoted ('speak affectionately just to me', line 15) girl would have been marred by this demonstration of sensitivity on the part of the heroine and by the intrusion of extraneous considerations into the idyllic relationship.

Also revised, perhaps because it detracted from the heroine's qualities by mirroring her main attribute in the narrator, is the last line (line 20), 因为她是一个羞涩的恋人 ('Because she is a shy lover') which had read: 因为我也像她是一样地羞涩 ('Because I, like her, am shy.').<sup>27</sup>

Far from the autobiographical connotations of 'My lover' is one of the poems of *Wangshu cao* which has caused most discussion: 'Cun gu' 村姑 (Country girl), which recently led to a heated debate among Chinese literary critics as to its interpretation and significance:<sup>28</sup>

## 村姑

村裏的姑娘靜靜地走着，  
 提着她的蝕着青苔的水桶；  
 潑出來的冷水滴在她的跣足上，  
 而她的心是在泉邊的柳樹下。

這姑娘會靜靜地走到她的舊屋去，  
 那在一棵百年的冬青樹陰下的舊屋，  
 而當她想到在泉邊吻她的少年，  
 她會微笑着，抿起了她的嘴唇。

她將走到那古舊的木屋邊，  
 她將在那裏驚散了一羣在啄食的瓦雀，  
 她將靜靜地走到廚房裏，  
 又靜靜地把水桶放在乾薪邊。

她將幫助她的母親煮飯，  
 而從田間回來的父親將坐在門檻上抽煙，  
 她將給豬圈裏的豬餵食，  
 又將可愛的雞趕進牠們的窠裏去。

在暮色中吃晚飯的時候，  
 她的父親會談着今年的收成，  
 他或許會說到她的女兒的婚嫁，  
 而她便將羞怯地低下頭去。

她的母親或許會說她的懶惰  
 （她打水的遲延便是一個好例子，）  
 但是她會不聽到這些話，  
 因為她在想着那有點魯莽的少年。

## COUNTRY GIRL

The girl in the country is quietly walking,  
 Carrying her moss-eaten water pail,  
 Cold water splashes out onto her bare feet,  
 And her heart is under the willow by the spring.

This girl will walk quietly to her old house.  
 That old house in the shade of the hundred year old  
 holm-oak,  
 And when she thinks about the youth who kissed her  
 beside the spring,  
 She will press her lips together in a smile.

She will walk around the ancient wooden house.  
 She will scare away a flock of pecking sparrows  
 She will quietly walk into the kitchen,  
 And quietly put down the water pail beside the hay.

She will help her mother cook the meal,  
 While her father back from the fields sits smoking  
 on the threshold,  
 She will feed the pigs in the pigsty,  
 She will chase the lovable chickens into their  
 coop.

At dusk, during dinner,  
 Her father will talk of this year's harvest,  
 Or he may talk of his daughter's marrying,  
 While she hangs her head in shyness.

Her mother perhaps will reprove her for her laziness,  
 (Her coming back late with the water was a good  
 example),  
 But she won't take in this chatter,  
 Because she'll be thinking about that slightly rash  
 young man.

Madame Loi has noted that this poem is acclaimed by Chinese critics as a "return to Realism".<sup>30</sup> She is presumably referring to Ai Qing's appraisal of the poem. But when the preceding and following poems are considered, it is difficult to see how this poem, of itself, can be interpreted as a return to Realism. Nevertheless, Ai Qing believes that the poet is searching for new subjects outside of his own, presumably unrealistic, emotional life:

...in 'Country girl', [the poet] paints a moving genre picture, he very ingeniously portrays a country girl's love. If we are not too over-critical, we recognize that the poet is searching for some new subject-matter—subject-matter outside of his own emotional life.<sup>31</sup>

More recently, however, Chinese critics have disagreed strongly with the opinion of this elder statesman of Chinese poetry; for instance:

This poem most emphatically does not show that the poet "very ingeniously portrays a country girl's love", but rather a gilded and leisurely, tranquil and colourful country scene..... the "country girl" so ingeniously portrayed, does not at all resemble life in a society where oppression and exploitation exist....And of particular importance, where, in 1930s China, was there a stretch of countryside like this, full of pastoral sentiments? Therefore, we consider, the poem 'Country girl' not to be a realistic song of the black reality of the time.<sup>32</sup>

Does this poem intend to be a "song of the black reality of the time", and surely even "where oppression and exploitation exist", country girls fall in love? Moreover, there is nothing in the poem untrue to millions of peasant households in the 1930s or even to-day. That the poet has not chosen to describe another part of current reality, does not of itself invalidate the realism of the scene he describes here. But, in any case, the critic in question has missed the point; possibly misled by Ai Qing's desire to show the 'saving graces' of a poem by this non-realist poet.

Whether or not the poem represents life as it was, in the Chinese countryside, it is intended to be

a love story, a credible and authentic story of the love of a peasant girl. Other Chinese critics seem to have grasped as much:

...are you not saying that literature must only reflect the nature of the class struggle, must only be a tool of the class struggle and only thus will it be realistic, and that by describing other facets...has no true credibility? If your viewpoint is like this, then it is very much mistaken.....  
This poem ['Country girl'] also has its authenticity...because the life of society has many facets.<sup>33</sup>

This last statement is quite true, but it also reflects the fact that the whole debate revolves around the need for verisimilitude and realism. In such terms is the worth of Dai Wangshu's poetry often discussed by contemporary Chinese critics, and its defenders perforce must defend it in the same terms as in the above mentioned refutation, where the critic justifies Dai's poem by expanding the limits of realism.

A contemporary of Dai, fellow-poet, Bian Zhilin, also refuses to acknowledge the poem's verisimilitude when he says of 'Country girl':

...it is one of Dai's best poems of his mature period, though, it is an idealized (and Westernized?) pastoral, out of tune with the reality of modern Chinese country life before Liberation (except in some far flung corner of minority areas).<sup>34</sup>

Here again the concern is whether the poem conforms with reality and it must be said that the reasoning here is flimsy and totally lacking in credibility. Evidently it is thought that the poem really ought to

reflect the contemporary Chinese critics' ideal of Chinese village life in the 1930s, and if it does not then the poem is deemed to have failed.

Even if Bian is correct in identifying a possible Western influence—and Dai may have been inspired by his extensive reading of Jammes' poetry, much of which has a pastoral setting—there are no grounds for doubting that Chinese peasant girls had their rustic suitors, like their Western counterparts.<sup>35</sup>

The poem is, of course ingeniously constructed. The form, depending on repetition, reflecting the succession of tasks the girl has to undertake after she walks away from her amorous encounter. The further away from the moment of love the more we learn about the way it has affected her. But this is all conjecture, as the poet makes clear. She is spied carrying her bucket and the poet imagines the girl enraptured by her secret which raises her spirit above the daily round of chores. This presumably is what those critics who discern a lack of realism are concerned about; the girl's feelings and the rest of the day's events are imagined, but none the less possible for that, and the girl's home and her parent's attitude are typical and not idealized.

What is noteworthy is that, unlike many of Dai's love poems, the narrator is not involved as hero. Its subject-matter is different, as Ai Qing has noted, but as for its marking a new Realist phase,

there is no doubt that it does not. For if the poet writes, in later poems, of reality and truth, it is a truth stemming from his internal world and the external world as seen through his eyes.

This is so even when the vocabulary and usage would seem to indicate a more 'readerly', metonymic mode, but, indeed, most of the later poems in the volume tend towards a more Surrealistic, metaphorical mode of expression pertaining to Modernism.

The subsequent poems, firmly cemented in the Modernist-Symbolist tradition, display not a search for new subject-matter, but rather new, more mature and wordly-wise, treatments of familiar subjects. For instance, 'Xiao bing' 小病 (Slight illness) once again explores the theme of nostalgia; on this occasion, the homesickness of a man on his sick-bed. The thoughts that we follow are neatly paralleled by their structure, indeed the thoughts leading one to another provide the thread of the structure, as they "fly off" to the luscious garden which is so inviting to the sick man:

### 小病

從竹簾裏漏進來的泥土的香  
在淺春的風裏牠幾乎凝住了；  
小病的人嘴裏感到了蒿苗的脆嫩，  
於是遂有了家鄉小園的神往。



小園裏陽光是常在薔薇的花上吧，  
 細風是常在細腰蜂的翅上吧，  
 病人吃的爽脆的葉子許被蟲蛀了，  
 而雨後的菲菜卻許已有甜味的嫩芽了。  
 現在，我是害怕那使我脫髮的饕餮了  
 就是那滑膩的海鱔般美味的小食也得齋戒，  
 因為小病的身子在淺春的風裏是羸弱的，  
 況且我又神往於家園陽光下的落苗。

36

From behind the bamboo screen the smell  
 of soil seeps in,  
 It almost solidifies on the early spring wind,  
 the sick man's lips sense the crisp tenderness  
 of the lettuce,  
 Then thoughts fly off to the small garden back  
 home.

Does the sunlight in the small garden shine on  
 rape flowers often,  
 The breeze often blow on the wings of the  
 slender waisted bee,  
 perhaps the leaves of the radish the sick man  
 eats have been nibbled by insects,  
 and perhaps after the rain the chives have  
 already sprouted tender shoots.

Now I fear that gluttony will make my hair fall  
 out,  
 I must even desist from eating those creamy  
 tasty delicacies like conger pike,  
 Because the sick body in the early spring wind  
 is weak,  
 Besides I am engrossed in thinking about the lettuce  
 under the sun in the garden back home.

The Modernist-Symbolist use of *correspondances*—  
 the Proustian connexions of the senses—have their source  
 in the smell of the earth (line 1), so strong and  
 thick that the sick man can almost feel it (line 2).  
 The breeze laden with the smell of the earth 'back

home' stimulates the man's taste-buds and generates the memory of the crispness and tenderness of lettuce, and of a particular lettuce in his "small garden back home" (line 4).

The illness is a device, the sick-bed a convenient setting for random thought.

The last stanza, which cleverly returns the reader to the first, shows that even the deprivations of illness are insignificant when compared with the sights and tastes evoked by the memories of his "garden back home" — a vision which has its germ in the chance smell of "soil seep[ing] in" (line 1).

Despite the poem's lack of simile and the poet's use of everyday images, the Symbolist sense is conveyed; conveyed by a string of images linked by the device of *correspondances*. The result is a vivid depiction of a mood of deep nostalgia.

And yet the nostalgia is more fundamental, more common to his readers and therefore the poem is more readily understandable than earlier poems dealing with the sensation; there is still a certain magic, but no mystery.

Perhaps when Ai Qing hints at a greater sense of realism in the poems of this period, he is mistaking for realism, Dai's employment of images and sensations more readily available to, and identifiable with, the common man.

Poems written six months or so later seem once

more to refute any suggestion of a greater sense of realism. Developing the theme of nostalgia in less banal imagery than 'Slight illness', is the poem 'You-zi yao' 游子謠 (Ballad of a traveller) in which there is no hint of realism. For while once again nostalgia revolves around the 'garden back home', the comparison in simile and metaphor to the wonders of the Sea, raises the tone above the possibilities of everyday images.

In this poem the traveller's attachment to his home is questioned. Nostalgia for what is left behind is seemingly overcome by the beauty and attraction of present surroundings.

That the poet thought highly of this poem is proven by the fact that he offered it for publication in French literary magazines. That French literary editors thought highly of the poem is shown by its acceptance:<sup>37</sup>

### 游子謠

海上微風起來的時候，  
暗水上開遍青色的薔薇。

——游子的家園呢？

雁門是蜘蛛的家，

土牆是薔薇的家，

枝繁葉茂的果樹是烏雀的家。

遊子卻迷鄉愁也沒有，  
 他沈浮在鯨魚海蟒間：  
 讓家園寂寞的花自開自落吧。

因為海上有青色的薔薇，  
 遊子要繫繫他冷落的家園嗎？  
 還有比薔薇更清麗的旅伴呢。

清麗的小旅伴是更甜蜜的家園，  
 遊子的鄉愁在那裏徘徊鄉間。  
 唔，永遠沈浮在鯨魚海蟒間吧。

38

When the sea breeze gets up,  
 Blue roses blossom all around on the dark water,  
 — And what of the traveller's garden at home?

The bamboo gate is the home of the spider,  
 The earthen wall is the home of the fig branch,  
 The copious branches and thick foliage of the  
 fruit tree the home of the birds.

The traveller does not even feel nostalgic,  
 He bobs about among whales and sea-serpents:  
 Let the garden's lonely flowers blossom and fall  
 untended.

Because on the sea with its blue roses,  
 Should the traveller worry about his neglected  
 garden?  
 There is an even more beautiful travelling  
 companion than the rose.

The beautiful travelling companion is an even  
 sweeter garden,  
 The traveller's nostalgia hovers and lingers there.  
 Oh, to bob forever among whales and sea-serpents.

"Nostalgia hovers and lingers there"—are we  
 then to understand a transfer of affection from the  
 traveller's garden at home to the "even sweeter garden"  
 of line 13? Does it represent a betrayal of the nost-  
 algia the narrator ought to feel for the "spider" and  
 "birds" of the second stanza.

The traveller might wish to "bob among the" more  
 fascinating "whales and sea-serpents" forever, thus to

be free of nostalgia, but he cannot and his homesickness will inevitably return.

What is important is that the poet is questioning his feelings of nostalgia, if he could be rid of it he would, and for a brief while he has escaped the longing for another place, another time. For he has escaped into a substitute, albeit transient, fantasy world. For the moment, he is toying with the theme of nostalgia, a development most important for the poet. Important to the poet, but not so, to the French editor who accepted this poem for publication while suggesting the deletion of the last stanza which casts into doubt the narrator's attachment to nostalgia.<sup>39</sup>

What may also be gleaned from this poem is the poet's unerring devotion to his, by now, habitual themes, for rather than abandoning his neo-Symbolist moods, he explores their possibilities.

Whatever seeds of Realism may have been, rightly or wrongly, discerned in 'Country girl', they do not bear fruit in these subsequent poems. On the other hand Dai's own notion of poetry being the product of reality which has passed through the imaginative process begins to figure more clearly.

In other poems, written at about this time, Dai shows an enthusiasm for the use of *correspondances* and other techniques of the Symbolist tradition, but his more confident and comprehensive use of them results in a more distinctly Modernist style emerging.

'Qiu ying' 秋 (Autumn fly) is an appropriate example of this tendency. Starting with 'Xiao bing' the poet had attached a greater significance to small things and creatures, employing them to view the world from a different aspect, just as here reality is seen through the eyes of a dying fly:

# 秋蠅

木葉的紅色，  
木葉的黃色，  
木葉的土灰色！  
窗外的下午！  
用一雙無數的眼睛，  
衰弱的蒼蠅望得昏眩。  
這樣窒息的下午啊！  
牠無奈地搔着頭搔着肚子。  
木葉，木葉，木葉，  
無邊木葉蕭蕭下。

玻璃窗是寒冷的冰片了，  
太陽祇有蒼茫的色澤。  
巡迴地散一次步吧！  
牠覺得牠的腳軟。  
紅色，黃色，土灰色，  
昏眩的萬華筒的圖案啊！  
迢遙的聲音，古舊的，  
大伽藍的鐘聲？天末的風？  
蒼蠅有點僵木，  
這樣沈重的翼翅啊！

飄下地，飄上天的木葉旋轉着，  
紅色，黃色，土灰色的錯雜的迴輪。  
無數的眼睛漸漸模糊，昏黑，  
什麼東西壓到輕銷的翅上，  
身子像木葉一般地輕，  
載在巨鳥的翎翹上嗎？

## AUTUMN FLY

The red of the leaves,  
 The yellow of the leaves ,  
 The ochre of the leaves:  
 Afternoon beyond the window.

With a pair of innumerable eyes,  
 The weakened fly is dizzy with staring.  
 These stifling afternoons !  
 Forlornly it scratches its head, scratches its belly.

Leaves, leaves, leaves.  
 The leaves of uncountable trees whispering downwards.

The window pane is a cold sheet of ice,  
 The sun has but a hazy lustre.  
 Walk around a bit!  
 It feels its legs softening.

Red, yellow, ochre,  
 Dizzy, kaleidoscopic design!

Faraway sounds, ancient,  
 The tolling of the temple bell? A wind from the  
     horizon?  
 The fly is a little numbed.  
 Such heavy wings!

Leaves whirling around, floating down to the ground  
     and up into the air,  
 A spinning wheel of mixed up reds, yellows and ochres.

Innumerable eyes more and more foggy, hazy,  
 What has weighed down the silky light wings,  
 Will this body as light as a tree leaf,  
 Be carried off on the wings of a huge bird?

The poet here transfers his own vision of life,  
 as autumn approaches, onto the fly. He is able to see  
 the world through "innumerable eyes", eyes whose fading  
 vision pictures life increasingly as a maelstrom  
 of colours, sounds and thoughts. The poem stands as  
 a metaphor for life in all its confusion.

The poem has been succinctly analysed by a  
 young Chinese critic in the following terms:

The author's observation of the autumn  
 fly makes him forget his own existence

and he transfers the disconsolateness of his own mind onto the fly itself, the activity of the fly's mind becomes the poet's own, he is then a weak and listless, dying autumn fly. At the very beginning, in the "afternoon beyond the window", the autumn fly can still analyse the appearance of the "leaves", "red, yellow, ochre"—this mass of variegated colour can still be found in the form of the leaves. But following the autumn fly's "weakness" and "dizziness", the form of the leaves slowly disappears, in the "innumerable eyes" of the autumn fly, there are only the colours of the leaves abstracted into a "dizzy, kaleidoscopic design"; later even weaker, it wonders what these colours might be, in its subjective perception, there is only a "confused spinning wheel" ceaselessly turning, fluctuating and gradually becoming blurred and dim.<sup>41</sup>

The blurred, dizzy images, the use of colours in this way, the metamorphosis of images are all standard Symbolist-Modernist technique: a patchwork of *correspondances* moulded in a novel fashion. But does it merely represent the poet's confused state of mind or is it a statement about human existence in general? The Chinese critic feels it necessary, perhaps feels obliged, to extend its meaning even further:

This is certainly a broken, sinking soul, the anguished scream of society facing a superficial flourishing yet in reality approaching death.<sup>42</sup>

For whatever reason, it would seem that the poet's intention here has been misinterpreted. For although Dai often leaves open the possibility of a universal interpretation of his intention, such an explicit application to "society" (and one senses "society" means for the critic: Chinese society before



'Liberation') surely goes too far.

That the poet is not merely representing a view of his own life through the eyes of a fly may be true. That he has presented a metaphor that may be true for others or may be applied beyond individual experience may also have been part of his purpose since "poets make verbal artefacts out of subjective experience."<sup>43</sup> However, the last stanza of the poem which poses the question "What has weighed down the silky light wings,/ Will this body.../ Be carried off on the wings of a huge bird", while perhaps representing the narrator's wish for liberation, does not seem to symbolize the "anguished scream of society".

The use of the image of the death-throes of a fly in this poem is typical of the second half of this volume and is similar in intention to other devices such as the quasi-delirium induced by illness, half-sleep and dreams in poems such as: 'Bu mei' 不寐 (Sleeplessness) and 'Xun mengzhe' 寻梦者 (Dream seeker).

These are indications that the poet is trying to go beyond the impressions and moods created by themes such as nostalgia and loneliness, however well developed and exploited, to the greater possibilities offered by wandering imaginings of the mind in a subconscious or semi-conscious state. This is a truly Modernist mode of expression; not quite Surrealist expression because the poet still makes use of the cloak of dream or illness as a vehicle, still needs a

starting point for the imagination, as we have seen in 'Autumn fly'.

Let us then turn to 'Bu mei' **不寐** (Sleeplessness) in which the world inside and outside of the mind blend together for an instant before the poet switches suddenly to a more physical appraisal of his insomnia:

**不寐**

在沈靜底音波中，  
每個愛戀的  
影子在眩暈的腦裏  
作瞬間的散步；  
祇是短促的瞬間，  
然後列成桃色的隊伍  
月移花影地澹然消溶：  
飛機上的閱兵式。

掌心抵着炎熱的前額，  
腕上有急促的溫息；  
是那一片的覺醒啊？  
這種透過皮膚的溫息。  
讓沈靜底最高的音波  
來震破脆弱的耳膜吧。  
蜜息的白色的帳子，牆……  
什麼地方去喘一口氣呢？

44

In the midst of the sound waves of silence,  
Every lovely imagining  
Takes a moment's walk,  
In the spinning head;

Only a brief moment,  
After which they line up in peach coloured ranks,  
Fade and merge, silhouettes of flowers dancing in  
the moonlight:  
A march-past watched from an aeroplane.

The palm of a hand resting on a burning forehead,  
On the wrist short warm breaths:  
is it the awakening from the night before?  
This warm breathing which penetrates the skin.

Let the highest sound waves of silence  
 Come and vibrate the fragile ear-drums  
     until they burst.  
 The suffocating mosquito net, the wall...  
 Where to turn for a breath of air?

On one level this poem attempts to describe the activity of dancing images of a mind swamped by feverish insomnia and the concomitant discomfort. And yet were it not for the last two stanzas the poem could be seen as belonging to the Surrealist extreme of Modernism. The metaphoric mode permits fanciful excursions impossible in a metonymic mode. Images are set free to take a "moment's walk", "fade and merge" and become the dancing "silhouettes of flowers" and then are seen ranged as if they were an army viewed from an aircraft. But then the whole string of Modernistic *correspondances* which show the internal state of the poet are abandoned for a consideration of the external. The two halves of the poem are then only connected by the "sound waves of silence". And those same sound waves against which the "lovely images" play are invoked by the narrator to free him from his dilemma, which is more an anguished state of *ennui* than mere physical discomfort.

The internal and external aspects are represented by the first two and last two stanzas respectively. The modes of expression are likewise juxtaposed: the first two stanzas being in a metaphoric mode and the last two much nearer to the metonymic.

The freedom of the subconscious is paralleled

by the restriction of the conscious which in frustration desires only release. This is the other, less apparent, but more significant level on which the poem operates.

The poet has tackled his theme and the structure of the poem in a very mature fashion and the poem indicates the attainment of an original and non-derivative style. It is a style which is Modernistic, a style which has grown out of the tradition and techniques of Symbolism, a style which lends to each poem something which is at once enigmatic and revelatory. It is also a style which, for the most part, cannot be accused of 'obscurantism'—justifiably levelled at other disciples and emulators of Symbolism such as Li Jinfa.<sup>45</sup>

The touch of mystery, the result of the poet's allowing his imagination to dominate, is illustrated subtly in a short and simple poem—which seems to conform to the poetic norms to a greater extent than 'Bu mei'—'Shen bi de yuanzi' 深閉的園子 (Secluded garden):

深閉的園子

五月的園子  
已花繁葉滿了，  
濃蔭裏卻靜無鳥喧。

小徑已鋪滿苔蘚，  
而離門的鎖也鏽了——  
主人卻在遙遙的太陽下。

在遙遙的太陽下，  
也有璀璨的園林嗎？

陌生人在離邊探首，  
空想著天外的主人。

The garden in May,  
 Flowers already in bloom and the leaves fully  
     grown,  
 In the luxuriant foliage all is quiet without  
     even the song of a bird.

The path is already covered in moss,  
 And the lock on the bamboo gate is rusty —  
 The owner is away under a distant sun.

Under that distant sun,  
 Are there glorious gardens too?

The stranger stretches his neck over the fence,  
 Vainly wondering about the owner under a foreign sky.

This poem has been acclaimed by critics both Western and Chinese, published in a French version and praised by the poet Bian Zhilin who sees in it something of the lucidity and suggestiveness of Azorin.<sup>47</sup>

The poem's theme is yet again a facet of the theme of nostalgia. As noted earlier, the poet's conception of nostalgia embraces more than a mere longing for home or the past. Dai's understanding of the term seems almost certainly to stem from the French idea of *nostalgie* and indeed Dai himself uses the French word when writing of his feelings during his voyage to France, shortly after this poem was composed.<sup>48</sup> In the French, the word expresses the mood of melancholy and regret for something lost or for something or someone one has *not* known. Saint-Exupéry put it thus: "La nostalgie c'est le désir d'on ne sait quoi," (Nostalgia is the wish for one knows not what ).

In this poem, the poet is inspired by the sight of this secluded garden, pondering upon its un-

known owner, wondering if such delightful gardens exist "under that foreign sun".

The poem is simply written and yet with such straightforward lines as "The lock on the bamboo gate is rusty" (line 5) the poet creates a sense of wonder, and instils a mood in the reader which has him too "wondering about the owner under a foreign sky" (line 10). The essence of the poem lies in sense of the enigmatic brought about by the poet's own kind of nostalgic dreaming.

The enigmatic is also the artefact employed in 'Xunmengzhe' 尋夢者 (The dream seeker). It is a clever poem, its mystery deriving from the extensive use of bizarre metaphors and its use of Symbolist *correspondances* which run through the poem from first to last lines. But it is also a poem which more than any other of the poet's repertoire lays the poet open to the charge of obscurantism, for the very imagery which creates the atmosphere of mystery and even mysticism renders the poem obscure, 'writerly' rather than 'readerly' and thereby, Modernist:

### 尋夢者

夢會開出花來的，  
夢會開出嬌妍的花來的，  
去求無價的珍寶吧。  
在青色的大海裏，  
在青色的大海的底裏，  
深藏着金色的貝一枚。  
你去攀九年的冰山吧，  
你去航九年的旱海吧，  
然後你逢到那金色的貝。

當你鬢髮斑斑了的時候，  
當你眼睛朦朧了的時候，  
金色的貝吐出桃色的珠。

然後，牠在一個暗夜裏開綻了。  
把牠在天水裏養九年，  
把牠在海水裏養九年，

牠有天上的雲雨聲，  
牠有海上的風濤聲，  
牠會使你的心沈醉。

你的夢開出花來了，  
你的夢開出嬌妍的花來了，  
在你已衰老了的時候。

把桃色的珠放在你懷裏，  
把桃色的珠放在你枕邊，  
於是一個夢靜靜地昇上來了。

49

Dreams will blossom into flowers  
Dreams will blossom into delicate flowers:  
Go and look for priceless treasure.

In the blue ocean,  
In the depths of the blue ocean,  
Is a well-hidden golden sea-shell.

You go and climb an iceberg for nine years,  
You go and sail a dry sea for nine years!  
Then you will find that golden sea-shell.

It carries the sound of cloud and rain in  
the sky,  
It carries the sound of wind and waves on  
the sea,  
It will make your heart truly intoxicated.

Keep it in sea water for nine years,  
Keep it in water from the heavens for nine  
years,  
Then one dark night it will split open.

When your hair turns grey,  
When your eyes become hazy,  
The golden shell will spit out a peach-  
coloured pearl.

Put the peach-coloured pearl next to your  
breast,  
Put the peach-coloured pearl under your  
pillow,  
Then a dream will quietly creep up.

Your dream will have blossomed into flowers,  
Your dream will have blossomed into delicate  
flowers,  
When you are old.

The obscurity of this poem is intentional. The poem is a metaphor symbolizing the poet's vision of life. As Zuo Yan has indicated, it illustrates another facet of the poet's use of *correspondances*.<sup>50</sup> Life is a "difficult, unfathomable course", shells can produce pearls "only after having traversed long years and months", and "life's ideals certainly cannot be realized in a day" and thus there exist "natural" *correspondances*.

At the same time, the glowing beauty of "peach-coloured pearls" symbolizes the ideals of the poet, the dream which blossoms, the culmination of his search for truth.

Difficulties encountered in life are represented by nature and the elements, as in "go and climb an iceberg for nine years, / ... go and sail a dry sea for nine years" (lines 7-8). Only when such unreal tasks have been accomplished will the "golden sea-shell" be found which in turn will bear the pearl which will cause the blossoming dream to "creep up".

Apart from being a metaphor for life, the poem underlines the poet's view of life as a mystery, an



enigma in which childhood myths, like the sound of the waves and the wind in sea-shells, offer more clues to life's path than interpretation of reality can. The poem stands as a philosophy of—as well as a metaphor for—life.

\*

Before concluding this chapter, it is worth noting that Dai wrote several other poems which were published in periodicals but not included in *Wangshu cao*; indeed not included in any collection during the poet's lifetime. The three poems are: 'Zuo wan' 昨晚 (Yesterday evening); 'Women de xiao muqin' 我们的小母親 (Our little mother) and 'Liushui' 流水 (Flowing water).<sup>51</sup>

All three poems are dominated by a certain animistic streak which was perhaps borrowed from Jammes who as we have seen was inclined to endow inanimate objects with a soul of their own.

The most interesting hypothesis about the composition of the latter two of the poems mentioned is that the poet had, as mentioned earlier, a desire to write more politically appropriate poetry.<sup>52</sup> Since Dai was flirting with the League of left Wing Writers at the time of writing 'Our little mother' and 'Flowing water'—the poems were published in March 1930—such an interpretation is a possibility. The fact that

Dai chose not to include the poems in his anthology, which was put together in late 1932, after Dai had become disenchanted with the League of Left Wing Writers and its literary doctrines, might lend credence to this theory, or perhaps Dai's decision not to publish them was merely a sign of distaste for their style. Let us consider one of them, 'Liu shui' 流水 (Flowing water):

## 流水

流水

在寂寂的黄昏里，  
我听见流水嘹亮的言语：  
“穿过暗黑的，暗黑的林，  
流到那边去！  
到昇出赤色的太阳的海去！”  
“你，被踐的草和被棄的花，  
一同去，跟着我们的流一同去。  
“衝过横在路颈的顽强的石，  
溅起来，溅起浪花来，  
从牠上面衝过去！”  
“泻过草地，泻过绿色的草地，  
没有躊躇或是休止，——  
把握住你的意志。  
“我们是名贵的水流的集体：  
从山间，从乡村，  
从城市，的汇集，……  
我们是力的力。  
“决了堤防，破了闸  
阻撓我们吗？  
你会看见你的毁灭。……”  
在一个寂寂的黄昏里，  
我看见一切的流水  
在同一个方向中  
奔流到太阳的家乡去。

## FLOWING WATER

In the lonely dusk,  
I hear the clear language of flowing water.

"Let's go through the dark, dark forest  
and flow over there!  
To the sea where the red sun rises!

"You trampled grass and abandoned flowers,  
Let's go together, follow our flow and come with us,

"Smashing across the stubborn stones of the road,  
Splashing, splashing up spray,  
Smashing over the top!

"Gushing through the grassland, gushing through the  
green grassland,  
Without hesitation or pause,  
Hold onto your resolve.

"We are the flowing waters converging from everywhere,  
From the mountains, from the countryside,  
From the gutters of the city.....  
We are the power of powers.

Breaching dykes, breaching the sluice gates!  
Dare you stop us?  
You will see your destruction.....

In a tranquil dusk,  
I see all the waters,  
All flowing in one direction,  
Rushing towards the home of the sun.

Even a cursory glance at the poet's interpretation of the "language of flowing water" provides evidence for he who seeks to find a revolutionary moral in this poem. The "red sun", the exhortation to would-be followers, the powerful, irresistible force of the waters "smashing" "stubborn" opponents, holding on to "resolve", coming from the countryside and the "gutters of the city" would all justify analogy with the forces of revolution.

Is the poet innocently describing the force of one of nature's elements, is he describing the rising

revolutionary tide within society and if so is he approving of this "power of powers"?

Leaving aside the contemporary Chinese situation and Dai's position within it, the poem would still have an emblematic significance. The river as an emblem of change is a connotation familiar to readers of Western poetry, in which it often represents the concrete flow of life. The river has a seaward or even deathward flow which cannot be arrested or controlled.

These associations may be present in Dai's poem. The uncontrollable force is certainly vividly portrayed in the language of the waters; represented visually by the use of quotation marks.

Whether the imagery points to the irresistible power of water or to a symbolic revolutionary power, the position of the poet remains that of by-stander, of listener. And whether he agrees with what the waters say or not, the poem is a warning.

If the sea is interpreted in the traditional Western fashion then it represents death. Whether it is the death from which rises the red sun of socialism is a matter for debate. Perhaps Dai could only treat political subjects in such ambiguous terms. Marxist critics will interpret it as they will; perhaps that was the poet's intention. But his own verdict on the poem is surely best indicated by its deletion from his poetic repertoire.

*Wangshu cao* is perhaps the most varied and instructive of Dai Wangshu's volumes of verse. Instructive because it reveals how Dai's poetic ideal matured from the kind of poetry which depended heavily for its expression, theme and even imagery and vocabulary, on the poet's acquaintance with French poetry—most notably that of Francis Jammes—into a style of poetry which while drawing heavily on Symbolist technique is increasingly coloured by the poet's own imagination and creative spirit.

Poems such as 'Dao wo zheli lai' amply show the lingering influence of Francis Jammes, while poems such as 'Bu mei' and 'Xiao bing' illustrate a more subtle and less derivative exploitation of Symbolist devices to achieve a clearly individual style within the tradition of Modernism.

The volume also reveals that Dai was still in an experimental mood, searching out new themes and subject-matter. Poems such as 'Cungu' indicate that he was still receptive to themes and treatments outside his usual poetic perimeters (as the poems written during the same period but not included in this volume, such as 'Liu shui', also illustrate). However, the fact that Dai chose not to pursue these alternative avenues and opted instead for a continuing exploration of introspective themes is a pointer to the continuity and resilience of his thematic inclinations and his creative persona.

*Wangshu cao* represents the middle period of Dai Wangshu's work and in many ways marks the end of his poetic adventurism. Personal and societal tragedies were to force the poet into a more serious contemplation of life. Dai's experiences in Europe doubtless had an effect on his poetic outlook and the war period pushed the poet further in the direction of melancholy musing.

Of his later poetry, much would be written in a more down-to-earth vein and the poet's tribulations were to produce more sincerely and personally felt poetic expression of the emotions. In such a light, much of the poetry could be said to be more 'realistic' than the poetry of *Wangshu cao*, but the Modernist spirit which had grown out of a wide-ranging apprenticeship, was not to desert him.

*Wangshu cao* represents the last concentrated period of Dai's creativity. Later his poems became more occasional, as he devoted more time to writing articles and translating the work of others. Dai's later poetry certainly revealed more about the man within the poet, but *Wangshu cao* illustrates more clearly than his other volumes the course and nature of the poet's growth.

## CHAPTER VII

### FALLEN IDOLS:

#### ZAINAN DE SUIYUE, AND OTHER POEMS

After Dai's departure for France and the subsequent publication of *Wangshu cao* the poet's output decreased to a trickle.

What was the cause of this reticence to create poetry? Dai's many translations of foreign poets, short story writers, and others, during the thirties and forties undoubtedly indicate an ever-increasing interest in literature.

Could it have been that Dai was overwhelmed by the quality and nature of the more recent poetry he found in Europe?

On his return from Europe he certainly threw himself into the task of translation and literary editing as never before but surely the cause of this diminished output of original poetry was not a lack of time.

The reason remains a mystery. The subsequent domestic and political troubles which dogged him for the rest of his life, not to mention his ailing health, provide more obvious reasons for poetic silence, but ironically they were also the inspiration for the few poems he did compose.

*Wangshu shigao*

Dai's next volume of verse was *Wangshu Shigao* [Wangshu's poetry manuscripts], published in 1937.<sup>1</sup>

There are only four new poems in this anthology, which is in the main a retrospective, chronological selection of Dai's work.

One of the poems had in fact appeared along with three poems subsequently published in *Zainan de suiyue*, in *Xiandai shifeng*, a poetry magazine edited by Dai and published by Shi Zhecun. The first and apparently only issue appeared in October 1935. The poem concerned was 'Shuang hua' 霜花 (Frosty flower), entitled in the magazine version: 'Jiu yue de shuang hua' 九月的霜花 (September frosty flower).<sup>2</sup>

If, as seems likely, this poem was written during the period 1934-1935 it seems strange that it should have been included, while others written in the same period appeared in *Zainan de suiyue* many years later. Why was it, and the other original poems in the volume, not held back?

'Shuang hua' and two of the other remaining original poems ('Weixiao' 微笑 (Smile) and 'Jian wu wang wohua' 见毋忘我花 (Seeing the forget-me-not)) will be considered in more detail later.

The most puzzling of the four poems is 'Gu shensi qian' 古神祠前 (In front of the ancient temple). *Wangshu shigao* is, as stated above, a chron-



ologically presented volume, and the other three 'new' poems appear as one might expect at the very end of the volume, and after the final poem of *Wangshu cao*: 'Leyuan niao' 樂園鳥 (Bird of Paradise). 'Gu shensi qian', however occurs in the first third of the volume, along with the selection from *Wode jiyi* and before the selection from *Wangshu cao*.<sup>3</sup>

It is reasonable to assume therefore that the poem was indeed written during that period, and it accords with the quasi-mysterious, Western inspired neo-Symbolist style in which Dai was experimenting at the time. (Perhaps it was left out of his first volume because it owed more to the literary heritage than to the Western inspired Modernistic style the poet was aiming for towards the end of that volume).

The poem relies heavily on the imagery of the Daoist mystical classic, the *Zhuangzi*, imagery that any twentieth-century Modernist would feel at home with:

古神祠前

古神祠前逝去的  
 暗暗的水上，  
 印着我多少的  
 思量底輕輕的腳跡，  
 比長腳的水蜘蛛，  
 更輕更快的腳跡。  
 從蒼翠的槐樹葉上，  
 牠輕輕地躍到  
 飽和了古愁的鐘聲的水上，  
 牠掠過漣漪，踏過荇藻，  
 跨着小小的，小小的  
 輕快的步子走。  
 然後，躊躇着，  
 生出了翼翅……

化作一隻雲雀，  
把清音撒到地上……  
現在牠是鵬鳥了。  
在浮動的白雲間，  
在蒼茫的青天上，  
牠展開翼翅慢慢地，  
作九萬里的翱翔，  
前生和來世的逍遙遊。  
牠飛上去了，  
這小小的蜉蝣，  
不是蝴蝶，牠翩翩飛舞，  
在蘆葦間，在紅蓼花上，  
牠高昇上去了，

牠盤旋着，孤獨地，  
在迢遙的雲山上，  
在人間世的邊際，  
長久地，固執到可憐。  
終於，絕望地，  
牠疾飛回到我心頭  
在那兒憂愁地盤伏。

4

On the dark waters  
Which flow in front of the temple,  
Are printed the light footprints  
Of how many of my thoughts,  
Footprints even lighter and faster than  
Those of the long-legged water spider.

From the leaves of the dark green locust tree,  
It leaps lightly down onto  
Waters full of the ancient gloomy toll of bells,  
It skims over ripples, steps over water weeds,  
Striding along with tiny, tiny nimble steps.  
Afterwards, dithering a while,  
It sprouts wings.....

It flies upwards,  
The tiny mayfly,  
No, it's a butterfly, it dances and flutters,  
Among the reeds, over the red smartweed blossom;  
High above it rises,  
Turning into a skylark,  
Scattering its shrill notes to the earth.....  
Now it is a roc.  
Among the floating white clouds,  
In the boundless blue sky,  
It slowly spreads its wings,  
Gliding thousands of leagues high in the sky,

A free and easy journey of a previous existence and  
the life to come.

Alone it circles around,  
Over distant cloudy mountains,  
At the borders of the world of man,  
On and on, stubborn to the point of pity.

Finally in desperation,  
It flies swiftly back to my heart,  
To gloomily hibernate.

5

The poem bears a strong resemblance to the poem 'Autumn fly' in *Wangshu cao*, discussed in the previous chapter, in which the poet's thoughts are transferred onto the external vehicle of a dying fly used to interpret the world outside.<sup>6</sup> Compared to this poem, the imagery and setting of Autumn fly are more pedestrian, and yet the intention is similar.

Unfortunately the allusions to the *Zhuangzi* are perhaps too obvious. The poem nevertheless illustrates the Modernist's desire to escape from reality and is redolent of the 'Bateau ivre' strain of Symbolism.

The temptation to call on classical Chinese allusions was strongly resisted by Dai, as by many other poets of the 'New Poetry' movement, such was their determination to escape the trap into which classical Chinese poetry had fallen (especially its reliance on over-worked allusions) during its decline.

However, this poem does in fact highlight the fact that some of the tendencies and techniques regarded as indicative of Modernism by Western literary

theorists, already existed in the Chinese literary heritage; not just the introspection to be found in the work of many Chinese poets through the ages, but the element of mystery and fantasy, as seen in the philosophical-religious *Zhuangzi* which early became a literary classic.

The other three original poems in *Wangshu shigao*, written presumably while the poet was in France, or shortly after his return, do not show any great development in the poet's style.

'Seeing the forget-me-not', judging from its content, seems almost definitely to have been written in France. It is a simple if clever poem:

### 見毋忘我花

爲你開的  
爲我開的毋忘我花，  
爲了你的懷念，  
爲了我的懷念，  
牠在陌生的太陽下，  
陌生的樹林間，  
謙卑地，悵悵地開着。

在僻靜的一隅，  
牠爲我向我說話，  
牠爲我向你說話；  
牠重數我們用凝望，  
遠方的潮潤的眼睛，  
在沉默中所說的話，  
而牠的語言又是  
像我們的眼一樣沉默。

開着吧，永遠開着吧，  
黑底我們的小小的青色的花。

For you it has blossomed,  
 For you the forget-me-not has blossomed,  
 For me to remember,  
 For you to remember,  
 Under a foreign sun,  
 In foreign forests,  
 It modestly, broodingly blossoms.  
  
 In a tranquil corner,  
 It speaks to me for you,  
 It speaks to you for me;  
 It recapitulates the words spoken by us  
 In silence,  
 With moist eyes staring into the distance.  
 And its language is also  
 As silent as our eyes.  
  
 Blossom, forever blossom,  
 Tiny blue flower thinking of us.

It would seem that this is more than an ode to  
 a flower. It may owe something to the romantic boy-  
 girl dialogues of Paul Fort, but then this poem is  
 in a more melancholy vein than the vivacious verses  
 of Fort.<sup>8</sup>

It probably represents the poet's thoughts of  
 his fiancée Jiangnian, whose jilting of Dai was not,  
 at the time revealed to him by her brother Shi Zhecun.

It may, of course, represent nothing of  
 the sort and have been written without reference to  
 anyone in particular, but it seems unlikely.<sup>9</sup>

Here again the flower is associated with  
 sadness, as Cherkassky has remarked.<sup>10</sup>

In the other poems under consideration flowers  
 have this melancholy connotation too. 'Frosty flower'  
 for instance while not concerning a real flower  
 nevertheless has doleful undertones:

霜  
花

九月的霜花，  
十月的霜花，  
霧的嬌女，  
開到我鬢邊來。  
裝點着秋葉，  
作裝點了單調的死，  
霧的嬌女，  
來替我簪你素豔的花。

你還有珍珠的眼淚嗎？  
太陽已不復重燃死灰了。  
我靜觀我鬢絲的零落，  
於是我迎來你所裝點的秋。

11

September's frosty flower,  
October's frosty flower,  
Beautiful woman of the mists,  
Flowers over my temples.

Dressing up autumn leaves,  
You are dressing up monotonous death,  
Beautiful woman of the mists,  
Come and place your white resplendent flower  
in my hair.

Do you still have pearly tears?  
The sun cannot again rekindle the dead ashes.  
I calmly observe the bareness of my temples,  
Whereupon I greet you dressed-up autumn.

Depicting autumn frost as a beautiful woman  
disguising the slow death of leaves and such like  
reveals the poem to be about ageing; for instance,  
'frosted temples' is a traditional metaphor for greying  
hair in Chinese.

There may, in addition, be a hint of something  
more than the superficial significance of the poem in  
the last stanza, in particular the second line: 'The  
sun cannot again rekindle the dead ashes.' If we recall  
that this poem first appeared after Dai's return from

France, the poem might be interpreted as a reaction to the knowledge of Jiangnian's betrayal—the full explanation for Jiangnian's silence while he was abroad.

Of course, any such interpretation can only be speculative. The poem might just as well be a further manifestation of the poet's universal theme of 'nostalgia'.

This could well be the case, for in Dai's later poems he shows little reticence in revealing quite clearly the source of his anxieties. Anxieties deriving not from an ephemeral and universal 'nostalgia' but from a very real sense of loss.

#### *Years of Disaster*

We look before and after;  
We pine for what is not;  
.....  
Our sweetest songs are those that tell of  
saddest thought.

Shelley, 'To a Skylark'

Dai's next volume *Zainan de suiyue* 灾难的岁月

月 [Years of disaster] was not to appear until 1948. Some of the reasons for such a gap—eleven years from the publication of *Wangshu shigao* and fifteen from the publication of *Wangshu cao*—are apparent: the long years of war, and exile for many writers, did not facilitate the publication of books.<sup>12</sup>

Apart from such logistical reasons there seem to have been more personal ones. Dai's marriage to Mu Shiying's sister gave him the happiness and

stability he was looking for and the need to express cerebral fancies of loneliness and 'nostalgia' seems to have vanished, albeit only temporarily. His wife eventually abandoned him and left him with the experience of real loneliness and a longing for his own real past.

When the political and other disasters which affected China and himself personally, are added to his domestic troubles the aptness of the title becomes evident. Had the historical circumstances and his domestic life been different, the poet may have produced very different poems in his middle years. Perhaps, for us, this is fortunate because the poet seems to have been tempted to put his poetic emotions on paper only because of his misfortune:

The poemless blank page  
The happy years:  
Because my bitter verse  
Just registers the milestone of disaster.

13

Not just the 'milestones of disaster' but almost so, and so it must have appeared to the poet in 1944 when this poem 'For my wife' was written.

Dai, judging from the accounts of his acquaintances, was not unhappy throughout the eleven years which separate his third volume from his last. Indeed the poems he did write in painful retrospect, indicate how in the years of marriage in Shanghai and Hong Kong he was happy, before the separation from his wife.



In his work he was active too: translating, editing and publishing. So it will not do to equate the whole of the latter part of his life with the impression given by this volume; and even within it we occasionally see an optimistic side of Dai. In general, in fact, this last volume of Dai's work gives us a far greater knowledge of the real man behind the poetic façade.

Technically and artistically the style changes. Dai's language for instance tends to become more clipped without reverting to classicisms. And while there are frequent flashes of the Modernist in the work, the heavy reliance on overtly Symbolist techniques in the main has disappeared.

The poetry of *Zainan de suiyue* more closely parallels the events and misfortunes of the poet's private and public life than any of his previous collections had done. The main aim of the remainder of this chapter, therefore, is to examine the relationship of the man's life to his poems and to what extent this link influenced the Modernism of his poetry.

#### *The Evidence*

While Dai's poems become scarce in this later period of his life, our facility to place them accurately, and to judge the relationship between the poetry and the poet's life, increases.

The first reason for this is the fact that Dai, conveniently, started to date his poems (for

some reason unknown he did this in French, perhaps a continuance of a practice started in France). The second reason, is that through a piece of extreme good fortune we have the original manuscript notebook containing the poems of *Zainan de suiyue*—and more besides—at our disposal.<sup>14</sup> And thirdly, Dai's circle of acquaintances had naturally increased and so the number of accounts of his later life are consequently greater.

Thus not only do we know how many poems Dai wrote in this period but when exactly he wrote them: two poems in 1934 (apart from the poems included in *Wangshu shigao*, which may conceivably, at least, date from any time up to January 1937, when the volume was published); one in 1935; four in 1936; two in 1937; none in 1938; one in 1939; one in 1940; one in 1941; two in 1942; two in 1943; seven in 1944; and two in 1945.

It is clear then that Dai's poems were truly occasional in both the senses in which the word may be used. For instance, the one poem written in 1939, was composed on New Year's Day: 'New Year's Greeting' and of the poems written in 1944, one was composed on the occasion of a 'pilgrimage' to the grave of the authoress Xiao Hong, and one on the occasion of the start of the Allied bombing of Japanese-occupied Hong Kong.<sup>15</sup>

This volume also brings us the first patriotic, if not political, poems that Dai wrote; one of the two being, perhaps, the best of the genre in modern

Chinese. But the best of the volume, and perhaps the best of Dai's whole opus, are those that deal with his own very personal tragedies.

The poems are presented in strictly chronological order and it is useful in this instance to follow that order, since the poems log not only the poet's life but his poetic growth.

The first poem, 'Guyi da ke wen' 古意答客問, is dated 1934 and two matters of interest arise from the two manuscript versions of this poem.

One version, in Chinese, does not differ greatly from the printed version, but the second version is in French and has both date and place of composition: "Lyon, le 5 déc. 1934."<sup>16</sup>

The first point is that it provides firm evidence of Dai's whereabouts and firmly banishes any doubts there may have been on this matter. The second and more important point is the suggestion, which was broached earlier, that Dai first wrote his poems in French and then translated them into Chinese.<sup>17</sup>

Is this perhaps why Dai assigns a date in French to all the poems in his notebook? Of course it is equally possible that Dai translated the poem into French so that his French acquaintances could read and comment on it. Another poem in French in the manuscript is the Chinese version of 'Xiao qu' 小曲 (A little tune). The poem is dedicated to Dai's friend Abbé Duperray.

A third poem in French is 'Qiu ye si' 秋夜思

(Autumn night thoughts); unfortunately, this poem has no date or place of composition appended.

Here is the French version of 'Guyi da ke wen'

古意答客問 (Classic answers to a host) followed by the Chinese version and English translation of it:

### Réponses à un hôte

Mon coeur solitaire suit les nuages dans leur  
fuite lumineuse  
Habitué à l'azur, mes yeux se plaisent aux  
herbes folles de mon seuil.  
Vous me demandez quels sont mes plaisirs?  
Ma lune à la fenêtre et mes livres à mon chevet.

Contempler le matin la brume errant sur les  
montagnes  
Ecouter la nuit le vent murmurant dans les  
feuilles;  
Vous me demandez où mon âme se repose?  
Regardez la fumée, qui, lentement, s'élève.

La rosée à ma soif et les fleurs à ma faim,  
Le cerf veille mes songes et l'oiseau fête mon  
réveil.  
Vous me demandez si m'importe le monde?  
Ecoutez les pas de l'éternel Passant décroître,  
décroître...

Lyon; le 5 déc. 1934.

18

### 古意答客問

孤心逐浮雲之炫燦的卷舒，  
慣看青空的眼喜倏圓的青蕪。  
你問我的歡樂何在？  
——窗頭明月枕邊書。

侵晨看風躑躅於山巔，  
 入夜聽風瑣語於花間。  
 你問我的靈魂安息於何處？  
 ——看那嬈繞地，嬈繞地升上去的炊煙  
 渴飲露，飢餐英；  
 鹿守我的夢，鳥祝我的醒。  
 你問我可有人間世的墨慮？  
 ——聽那消沉下去的百代之過客的簫音。

一九三四年十二月五日

19

The lonely heart follows the radiant mutations  
 of the floating clouds.  
 Eyes used to watching the blue sky are pleased by  
 the green grass invading the threshold,  
 You ask me where I find my happiness?  
 In the bright moon at the window and the books  
 beside my pillow.

At early dawn watching the mist lingering  
 on the mountain tops,  
 At dusk listening to the wind hovering  
 among the flowers.  
 You ask me where my soul takes its rest?  
 Look at the smoke curling upwards from the  
 chimney.

Drinking dew when thirsty, eating petals when  
 hungry,  
 The deer guards my dreams, the bird greets my  
 waking,  
 You ask me whether I have worldly worries?  
 Listen to the fading footsteps of the traveller  
 of a hundred generations.

5 December 1934.

This poem is a remarkably care-free and  
 philosophically resigned start to the volume. Though  
 the French seems very skilful, the Chinese most probab-  
 ly came first because of the ready made phrases 飲露  
 (line 9) and 餐英 (line 9); also the Chinese is rhymed

and the French not.

There is a possibility—the date and place of composition would seem to suggest this—that Dai wrote this poem with Abbé Duperray, an admirer of classical Chinese poetry, in mind.<sup>20</sup>

The second poem is more in the mould of the later poems of *Wangshu cao*, the 'lamp' of the title is an anchor for the Modernist reverie conjured up by the poet's vigorous imagery:

# 燈

燈守着我，劬勞地，	像木馬欄似地	憂傷稚子，	而火簇的春陽下的樹木般的	小小的爆裂聲，	搖着我，搖着我，	柔和地。
疑看我眸子中	轉着，轉着，永恆地：	歡樂兒童，	已矣哉！	探描黑色大眼睛的凝視	去織最綺麗的夢網！	手指所觸的地方：
有穿着古舊的節日衣衫的	木馬欄猶自轉着，轉着：	燈徒然懷着母親的劬勞，	孩子們的黑衣已褪了顏色。	火凝作冰簇，	花幻為枯枝。	燈守着我。讓他守着我！

曉陽高照，蜥蜴不復落其光，  
帝王長臥，魚燭永恆地高燒  
在他森森的陵寢。  
這裏，一滴一滴地，  
寂靜墜落，墜落，墜落。

一九三四年十二月二十一日

## 21

The lamp protects me diligently,  
Stare into the pupils of my eyes,  
There are happy children  
Dressed in ancient, festive costumes,  
Sorrowful infants  
Like a merry-go-round,  
Turning, turning without end...

And the sound of tiny explosions  
Like trees under the flaming spring sun,  
Shaking me, shaking me,  
Softly.

Beautiful festive days fade,  
The merry-go-round is still turning,  
turning...  
The lamp in vain cherishes the mother's  
hard work.  
The colours of the children's silk  
clothes have faded.

It's over!  
Gather a large dark-eyed stare  
And go and weave the most elegant web  
of dreams!  
The places touched by fingers:  
Fire freezes into flames of ice,  
Flowers turn into withered branches.  
The lamp protects me, let it protect me!

The dawn sun shines everywhere, the lizard  
does not bathe again in its rays,  
The emperor sleeps long, the fish candle  
burns eternally high,  
In its dark resting place.

Here, drop by drop,  
Silently falling, falling, falling.

21st December 1934.

At first sight the technique and style of the poem are similar to those used in 'Autumn fly', but whereas the 'fly' was very much the vehicle through whose eyes the poet saw a different picture of the world, here the 'lamp' supplies the light which reflects the images in the poet's eyes.<sup>22</sup>

But even this role is not clear. What is clear is that the eyes are those of the poet and that whereas the 'lamp' may be an anchor for the poet's thoughts in the first three stanzas, its significance evolves in the last three to that of protector.

In fact, the greatest similarity to 'Autumn fly' is the use of images to construct an almost Surrealist effect of gyration and dizziness; in 'Autumn fly' it is supplied by the swirling leaves of various colours giving rise to a kaleidoscopic impression, here it is the "merry-go-round, / turning, turning..." (lines 6 and 7).<sup>23</sup>

Moreover, the colours, while not named are implied by the "festive costumes" (line 4) and remembered sounds are even evoked with the "tiny explosions" (line 8), possibly of buds on the trees bursting into life or perhaps the sound of festive fire-crackers?

But these happy memories fade and the only refuge from the perversity of reality—captured in the fourth stanza —is an "elegant web of dreams". The



"lamp protects" the poet, allows him to revel in the comparative comfort of his reverie. The fifth stanza takes the reader further into that reverie.

The poem also represents the poet's only known foray into calligrammatic presentation, for when it first appeared in *Xiandai shifeng*, of which magazine Dai was the Editor-in-Chief, the last enigmatic stanza appeared thus:

这里，一滴一滴地，  
寂静，坠落，  
坠落，  
坠落。

Here, drop by drop,  
Silently falling,  
                    falling,  
                            falling.<sup>24</sup>

This was yet another Modernist device which Dai experimented with and then abandoned. Dai evidently saw no regular place for the use of calligrammes in his poetry, which is not surprising when one recalls Dai's disavowal of form at the expense of content. Nevertheless, the possibilities for exploitation of calligrammes in Chinese poetry, facilitated by the nature of the Chinese script, were clearly tempting for a while.<sup>25</sup>

Calligrammes aside, this poem must stand—if

we consider Modernist poetry as embracing everything from early Symbolism to Surrealism—as the most extreme achievement in the spectrum of Modernism. There are hints of it in some of the later poems of the volume, as there were in earlier volumes, but never again does Dai attempt to express the working of the conscious and subconscious in such a Surrealistic, and difficult, style.

We enter now what may be termed Dai Wangshu's fallow period. Of the four poems Dai wrote in 1936 two seem to have been inspired by the ideas of his friends and indeed represent the poet's reaction to those ideas.

The first, 'Xiao qu' 小曲 (A little tune) was mentioned above as possibly having been originally composed in French. It is dedicated to the priest Abbé Duperray, who befriended Dai in Lyons. Both the French and the Chinese versions are rhymed (the Chinese, aaba and the French aabb) thus, offering little assistance in discerning the original. Unfortunately the French version is undated, the Chinese version gives the date of composition as the 14th May 1936, which may be the date of the French draft or may just be the date on which the Chinese version was made.

There are certain differences between the two texts and the French text without doubt sheds light on the poetic intention of the Chinese. First the Chinese text followed by the English and then the French:

## 小曲

啼倦的鳥藏喙在彩翎間，  
 香的小靈魂向何處翻騰？  
 老去的花一瓣瓣委塵土，  
 香的小靈魂在何處流連？

牠們不能在地獄裏，不能，  
 這那麼好，那麼好的靈魂！  
 那麼是在天堂，在樂園裏？  
 搖搖頭，誰彼得可也否認。

沒有人知道在那裏，沒有，  
 詩人卻微笑而三緘其口：  
 有什麼東西在調和氣氛，  
 在他的心的永恆的宇宙。

一九三六年五月十四日

26

The bird weary with twittering hides its beak  
 amidst colourful feathers,  
 Where has the tiny soul of its voice  
 fluttered to?  
 The ageing flower petal by petal withers  
 into the ground,  
 Where is the tiny soul of its fragrance  
 lingering?

They cannot be in Hell, no,  
 Souls so good as these!  
 So are they in Heaven, in Paradise?  
 Shaking his head, even St. Peter disagrees.

No one knows where, no one,  
 The poet smiling remains thrice silent,  
 There is something harmonizing spreading  
 like mist,  
 In the eternal universe of his heart.

Although the text of the French version, which

follows, does not differ greatly, it does help to clarify the meaning of the Chinese, in particular the last stanza in which the French is more precise.

à l'Abbé Duperray

Vers où s'envolent les petites âmes-sons  
 Lorsque, las de chanter les oiseaux s'en  
     iront.  
 Vers où s'acheminent les âmes-parfums si  
     menues  
 Quand au déclin du printemps les fleurs  
     s'inclinent?

Pas dans l'enfer, non!  
 Ce sont des êtres si bons.  
 Est-ce alors, au paradis?  
 Hochant la tête, Saint pierre le nie.

Où sont-elles...nul ne le sait.  
 Mais le poète sourit et se tait:  
 Quelque chose dans l'univers de son coeur  
 S'exhale et s'apaise en choeur.

27

Spirituality of itself is not a trait of Dai's poetry, but the mysterious nature of the world, the hint at something about life which is ineffable, the subtle and evanescent, beyond reality and knowledge is a recurrent Modernist aspect to his work.<sup>28</sup>

In the simple, although not altogether simplistic, 'A little tune' Dai suggests once again that life is not simply what realists or even men of religion would have us to believe. There is something more and that something can be caught by the poet who has an inkling of what that something more is.

The poem indeed encapsulates Dai's idea of the rôle of the poet and the following poem in *Zainan de suiyue* is written in a similar vein, in defence of the ineffable.

'Zeng Kemu' 贈克木 (For Kemu) was written after a conversation with a fellow poet, later turned Indologist, Jin Kemu, in 1936. Jin was interested in astronomy at the time and Dai's poem mocks the idea of reducing Nature to the stature of nothing more than a subject for analytical study and induces us to be grateful to Nature for the simple joys she offers.

Dai's attitude is typical of a Symbolist or Modernist poet, for the poetry of Modernism depends on the magical and enigmatic in life and Nature and seeks to defend the irrational and unscientific: Modernism is after all partly a reaction against the scientific and industrial age.

In 'Zeng Kemu' Dai seeks not only to defend Nature against attempts at demystification but also defends his own personality against scrutiny and reason:

### 贈克木

我不懂別人爲什麼給那些星辰  
取一些牠們不需要的名稱，  
牠們閒遊在太空，無牽無掛，  
不了解我們，也不求開達。

記着天狼，海王，大熊：這一大堆，  
還有牠們的成份，牠們的方位，  
你絞乾了腦汁，漲破了頭，  
弄了一輩子，還是個未知的宇宙。

星來星去，宇宙運行，  
春秋代序，人死人生，  
太陽無算數，太空無限大，  
我們祇是倏忽渺小的夏蟲井蛙。

不癡不聾，不做阿家翁，  
 爲人之道全在惜情，  
 最好不求甚解，單是望望，  
 看天，看星，看月，看太陽。  
 也看山，看水，看雲，看風，  
 看春夏秋冬之不同，  
 還看人世的變態，人世的倥傯，  
 靜默地看着，樂在其中。  
 樂在其中，樂在空與時以外，  
 我和歡樂都超越過一切的境界，  
 自己成一個宇宙，有牠的日月星，  
 來供你鑽究，讓你俯首窮經。

或是我將變一顆奇異的彗星，  
 在太空中欲止即止，欲行即行，  
 讓人算不出軌跡，瞧不透道理，  
 然後把太陽敲成碎火，把地球撞成泥。

一九三六年五月十八日

I do not know why people give the stars  
 Names they do not need;  
 They wander freely in outer space, no  
 worries no cares,  
 Not understanding nor seeking fame.

Remembering Sirius, Neptune, The Great Bear...  
 so, so many,  
 And their parts, their positions,  
 You wrack your brains, stuff your head  
 to bursting,  
 Even if you work at it for a lifetime, it will  
 still be an unknown universe.

Stars come, stars go, the Universe moves on,  
 Seasons change, people die, people are born,  
 The Sun is measureless, outer space is  
 infinitely large,  
 We are just momentary, minute summer insects  
 and frogs in wells.

If you're not daft or deaf, don't be a parent,

The best way for a man is to remain  
 unenlightened,  
 Better not probe too deep, just stare  
 ahead,  
 Look at the sky, look at the stars, look  
 at the moon, look at the sun.

And look at the mountains, look at the water,  
 look at the clouds, look at the wind,  
 Look at the differences between spring,  
 summer, autumn and winter,  
 And look at the stupidity in the world, look  
 at the inanity in it:  
 Look at it silently, joy is within it.

Joy is within it, joy is outside of time and  
 space,  
 I and happiness have surpassed all dimensions  
 Become a universe by myself with its sun,  
 moon and stars,  
 Come and scrutinize it, pursue your study  
 until your hair turns white.

Or I might turn into a strange comet,  
 Stopping and starting as I please in outer  
 space,  
 Not letting people calculate my trajectory,  
 nor glimpse any reason,  
 And then smash the sun into bits of fire and  
 pummel the earth into mud.

18th May 1936.

30

More than a rebuttal of a friend's attitude  
 to the stars, this poem seems to be a statement of  
 Dai's personal philosophy. As if to affirm such  
 a theory the poem was in fact twice published before  
 inclusion in *Zainan de suiyue*; first in 1936 and again  
 in 1945 when it was entitled simply 'Zeng you' 赠友  
 (To a friend).<sup>31</sup> Dai's sentiments, on this topic, would  
 therefore appear to have been deeply felt and long-  
 lasting.

Apart from giving us this insight into the  
 poet's inner world, his reassertion of the unique,

unscientific and unfathomable nature of the human mind, the poem also firmly reminds us of the early influences on his poetry.

Despite the fact that Dai had spent several years in France and had become acquainted with the work of many writers, new to him, this poem written in 1936 is indebted to a poem by Francis Jammes, and moreover to a poem—'Il va neiger'—which had already provided inspiration for earlier poems both in its imagery and its sentiment.<sup>32</sup>

It is the fifth stanza of 'Il va neiger' which seems, in this instance, to have provided the germ, and apart from the similarity in imagery and vocabulary the idea appears to be based in a like notion that although man may study the universe he cannot control it.

The first two lines of Jammes' stanza bear such a strong resemblance to the first two lines of Dai's poem that the similarity cannot be dismissed as coincidence:

On a baptisé les étoiles sans penser  
qu'elles n'avaient pas besoin de nom, et  
les nombres  
qui prouvent que les belles comètes dans  
l'ombre  
passeront, ne les forceront pas à passer.

33

[We baptised the stars without thinking  
that they had no need of a name, and the numbers  
which prove that the beautiful comets will  
pass in the dark, will not compel them to pass.]

This residual influence of the French poet occurs again later in the *Zainan de suiyue*, perhaps



not just because his imagery made a strong early impression on Dai but because of the emotions expressed in those images, emotions which were to be more immediate and relevant to Dai than they had been when merely providing themes for his early poems.

But in 1936 Dai continued to be taken up with Nature and the Universe with an almost pantheistic enthusiasm. As if to underline his idea of the magical properties of the Universe and the existence of a universe 'outside of time and space' he employs the imagery of the stars and the elements to express the extent of his feelings for the woman he loves. Moreover with a typical Modernist technique, similar to that used in 'Gu shensi qian' among others, he takes on the mantle of, indeed is transfigured into, those stars and elements:

# 眼

在你的眼睛的微光下，  
 迢遙的潮沙昇漲：  
 玉的珠貝，  
 青銅的海藻；  
 千萬尾飛魚的翅，  
 剪碎分而復合的  
 頑強的潤澤的水。  
 無渣滓的水，  
 暗青色的水！  
 在什麼經緯度上的海中，  
 我投身又沈溺在  
 以太陽之靈照射的諸太陽間，  
 以月亮之靈映光的諸月亮間，  
 以星辰之靈閃爍的諸星辰間？

於是我是蚌蜃，  
 有我的手，  
 有我的眼，  
 並尤其有我的心。

我睜睜於你的眼睛的  
 蒼茫朦朧的微光中，  
 並在你上面，  
 在你的太空的鏡子中  
 鑑照我自己的  
 透明而畏寒的  
 火的影子，  
 死或冰凍的火的影子。

我伸長，我轉着，  
 我永恆地轉着，  
 在你的永恆的周圍  
 並在你之中：

我是從天上奔流到海，  
 從海奔流到天上的江河，  
 我是你每一條動脈，  
 每一條靜脈，  
 每一個微血管中的血液，  
 我是你的睫毛  
 （牠們也同樣在你的  
 眼睛的鏡子裏顯影），  
 是的，你的睫毛，你的睫毛，

而我是你，  
 因而我是我。

一九三六年十月十九日

34

### Eyes

Under the glimmer of your eyes,  
 Distant morning and evening tides swell  
 Jade pearl shells,  
 Bronze seaweed...  
 The fins of millions of flying fish,  
 The stubborn, deep water  
 Cut and sliced but then rejoined.

Water without cliffs and islands,  
 Water dark and blue!  
 At what degree of longitude and latitude  
     of the ocean  
 Did I throw myself in and wallow  
 Amidst all the suns irradiated with the

spirit of the Sun  
 Amidst all the moons reflecting the  
 spirit of the Moon,  
 Amidst all the stars flickering with  
 the soul of the stars?

Then I am a comet,  
 With my hands,  
 With my eyes,  
 And particularly my heart.

I bask in your eyes  
 Misty, hazy glimmer,  
 And above you,  
 In the mirror of your outer space,  
 Is reflected my own  
 Transpared and timid  
 Fiery image,  
 Dead or frozen fiery image.

I stretch out, I turn,  
 I turn perpetually,  
 Around your perpetual circumference  
 And in your centre...

I am the river which had flowed from  
 sky to the sea  
 From the sea I have flowed to the sky,  
 I am the blood in your every artery,  
 Every vein,  
 Every tiny blood vessel,  
 I am your eyelashes  
 (Just as they are reflected in the mirror  
 of your eyes),  
 Yes, your eyelashes, your eyelashes,

And I am you,  
 So I am me.

19th Oct. 1936.

The theme of the poem is familiar enough:  
 the spiritual and physical union of lovers, but beyond  
 this familiar theme the poem reveals itself as typic-  
 ally Modernist in dealing with reflected or refracted  
 images, not well defined or solid objects directly  
 perceived.

Consciously or not the poet vindicates the  
 thought expressed in 'Zeng Kemu'. But there are also

echoes of earlier poems in which Dai reveals the enchantment that the ocean and water in general hold for him, as in 'Mandoline' and 'Youzi yao', 游子谣 (Ballad of a traveller). The bizarrerie of the imagery, as in 'Yin xiang' 印象 (Impressions), is by now typical of Dai's poetry and however incongruous the imagery in this extremely metaphorical poem, it cannot be said to be difficult. It may even be called explicit, for however personal the experience, the emotions here expressed in such an original fashion are universal.

But it is the continuing and increasing emphasis the poet places on the sense of identification with Nature which is the most interesting element here. Explanations for this could be found in the realm of twentieth-century critical schools of thought, but could equally be found in the themes of transmogrification in ancient Daoist literature.

The height of this introspective, meditative phase is reached with the condensed poetic thought of the exceptionally short, one stanza 'Wo sixiang'

我思想. (I think):

### 我思想

我思想，故我是蝴蝶：  
萬年後小花的輕呼  
透過無夢無醒的雲霧，  
來振撼我斑斕的彩翼。

一九三七年三月十四日

I think therefore I am a butterfly...  
 The soft call of a flower ten thousand  
     years later,  
 Has passed through the dreamless,  
     unwaking mist,  
 To make my multi-coloured wings vibrate.

14th March, 1937.

Many an ingenious interpretation could be made of this poem. The first line is perhaps a parody of Descartes' 'Je pense, donc je suis'. But the important point to note is Dai's insistence on a spirit, a poetic spirit perhaps, existing 'outside of time and space', or at least running through time and space. It is not an Existentialist or even a Daoist philosophy that is being alluded to for Dai has no doubt about his own existence but he does 'see a surreal, or 'irreal' extra facet to life outside of everyday reality. The other dimension seems to be expressed in these poems as a feeling of at-one-ness with Nature, its sights and sounds and creatures, its spirit which transcends time and to which the poet is sensitive; as sensitive as the highly receptive butterfly. This is an extension of the Symbolist idea seen in 'Autumn fly' in which there is a transference of thought and experience.

It is doubtful whether there is anything intrinsically mystical in this, nothing at any rate approaching anything formally religious. The flies, moths, butterflies and glow-worms of Dai's poems are still little more than vehicles for the poet's thoughts providing an extra or outside point of reference. That mystery and the potential magic of the world is part

of Dai's Modernist apparel is, however, unquestionable.

Although there were to be one or two further poems involving the little creatures of Nature, there were to be no more ponderings of this sort. The personal and national tragedies of the remainder of the thirties and the forties made what little poetry Dai wrote much more immediate and relevant to his own often painful existence.

The poems of subsequent years may be seen as falling into two categories: public and private. The former displaying a common-place simplicity hitherto unseen in Dai's poetry, and the latter heart-felt and realistic emotions, the emotions of a father and a husband. In both there is a tendency to plain language used to express poetry born of experience rather than of the imagination, in literary terms one could say there is a shift towards the metonymic pole, but this is not total.

The first example of Dai's public or political poetry is Yuanri zhufu' 元旦祝福 (New Year's blessing):

元旦祝福

新的年歲帶給我們新的希望。  
祝福！我們的土地，  
血染的土地，焦裂的土地，  
更堅強的生命將從而滋長。  
新的年歲帶給我們新的力量。  
祝福！我們的人民，  
堅苦的人民，英勇的人民，  
苦難會帶來自由解放。

一九三九年元旦日

The New Year brings us hope.  
 Blessings! From our earth,  
 Blood-stained earth, scorched cracked earth,  
 An even stronger life will grow.

The New Year brings new strength,  
 Blessings! Our people ,  
 Staunch people, brave people,  
 Tribulation will bring freedom and liberation.

New Year's Day 1939.

At this time, of course, Dai was concentrating on propaganda work among writers and artists in an attempt to reinforce anti-Japanese resistance in the intellectual sphere. He may have been expected to produce something to help the war-effort. Nevertheless, and although this poem is far from his usual work in both style and content, it is a reasonable piece compared with the efforts of other patriotic poets.

However, for the most part Dai concentrated his literary and political efforts elsewhere and but rarely composed a poem; perhaps too busy or more likely preferring not to write than to write what made him feel uncomfortable.

His next attempt at a poem did not come for almost a year and a half.

What prompted the poem was the desertion of his wife who had gone back to Shanghai with their daughter.<sup>37</sup> The poem shows a total abandonment of the rich metaphoric imagery of the thirties, the thought is clever but simple, as is the language: plain and straightforward. It is however a very effective poem

in conveying the overwhelming sense of solitude felt  
by the poet:

給什麼智慧給我，  
小小的白蝴蝶，  
翻開了空白之頁，  
合上了空白之頁？  
翻開的書頁；  
寂寞；  
合上的書頁；  
寂寞。

白  
蝴  
蝶

一九四〇年五月三日

38

What wisdom do you provide me with,  
Little white butterfly,  
Flipping open blank pages,  
Shutting blank pages?

The open pages:  
Loneliness;  
The closed pages:  
Loneliness.

3rd May 1940.

For all its simplicity, perhaps because of it,  
the idea of loneliness as presented in this short poem  
is much more convincing than many of his previous poems  
dealing with the theme. It is nevertheless the same  
theme and the terseness with which it is expressed  
reflects the intensity of the emotion.

Another year was to pass before the extent of  
the poet's personal sorrow would force him to write  
again. But 'Zhi yinghuo' 致螢火 (To the glow-worm),  
recaptures some of Dai's previous style. But now  
'memory' is no longer a comfort, a 'faithful' friend  
but a sorrowful 'burden':



## 致螢火

螢火，螢火，  
你來照我。

照我，照這沾露的草，  
照這泥土，照到你老。

我躺在這裏，讓一顆芽  
穿過我的軀體，我的心，  
長成樹，開花；

讓一片青色的蘚苔，  
那麼輕，那麼輕  
把我全身遮蓋，

像一雙小手纖纖，  
當往日我在奮眠，  
把一條薄被  
在我身上輕披。

我躺在這裏  
咀嚼着太陽的香味；  
在什麼別的天地，  
雲雀在青空中高飛。

螢火，螢火，  
給一縷細細的光線——  
够擠得起記憶，  
够把沉哀來吞嚥！

一九四一年六月二十六日

39

Glow-worm, glow-worm,  
Come and shine on me.

Shine on me, shine on this dew-wet grass,  
Shine on this muddy earth, shine until  
you are old.

As I lie here, let a shoot  
Bore through my body, my heart,  
Grow into a tree and blossom;

Let a patch of green moss,  
So light, so light,  
Cover my whole body,

Just as a pair of small slender hands  
While I dozed in bygone days,  
Lightly spread a thin quilt  
Over my body.

As I lie here,

Chewing on the fragrance of the sun;  
 In what other world,  
 Does the sky-lark fly high in the blue sky.

Glow-worm, glow-worm,  
 Just give me a fine beam of light—  
 Enough to bear the burden of my memory,  
 Enough to swallow up the grief.

26th June, 1941.

This is a genuinely sad poem. The poet is desperate for refuge; an escape which is not forthcoming so that he is thrown back on Nature. He muses on letting Nature make use of his body, of personal extinction perhaps death. Then his thoughts turn in the fifth stanza to his wife's affection.

Michelle Loi sees the sixth stanza as an allusion to Du Fu in which "la joie des oiseaux et la continuité du renouveau fait ressortir la douleur de la patrie vaincue et occupée." [The joy of the birds and the continuity of spring bring out the sorrow of the conquered and occupied motherland.]<sup>40</sup> But in the context of this poem such an interpretation is unlikely and the stanza more probably is a continuation of the poet's allusion to his estranged wife.

But pathetically the poet craves only the very faint light of the 'glow-worm'. The poet seems to have a need to seek light from some external source; to shut out unpleasant and dark memories perhaps?

The technique here is very similar to 'Deng' 灯 (Lamp) in which the lamp is the device used to start and complete the poet's train of thought. In that poem the poet pleads: "The lamp protects me,

let it protect me!" and here the poet similarly asks the glow-worm to give him just a "Fine beam of light".

Almost a year later in 1942 his grief for his wife was eclipsed by the threat of death in a Japanese prison:

### 獄中題壁

如果我死在這裏，  
朋友啊，不要悲傷，  
我會永遠地生存  
在你們的心上。  
你們之中的一個死了，  
在日本佔領地的牢裏，  
他懷着的深深仇恨，  
你們應該永遠地記憶。

當你們回來，從泥土  
掘起他傷損的肢體，  
用你們勝利的歡呼  
把他的靈魂高高揚起，  
然後把他的白骨放在山峯，  
曝着太陽，沐着飄風：  
在那暗黑潮濕的土牢，  
這會是他唯一的榮夢。

一九四二年四月二十七日

41

#### WRITTEN ON A PRISON WALL

If I die here,  
Friends, do not be sad,  
I shall always exist  
In your hearts.

One of you died,  
In a cell in Japanese occupied territory,  
He harboured deep hatred,  
You should always remember.

When you come back, from the mud  
Dig up his mutilated body,  
Hoist his soul up high,  
With your victory cheers.

And then place his bones on a mountain  
                   peak,  
 To bask in the sun, and bathe in the wind,  
 In that dark damp dirt cell,  
 This was his sole beautiful dream.

Imprisoned for his part in running an anti-Japanese newspaper there is little doubt that Dai assumed he would die in gaol. The "one of you who died" refers of course to Dai himself; this is made even clearer in the manuscript of the poem where "wo" is substituted for "ta".<sup>42</sup>

Dai did of course survive but his health was certainly so seriously impaired that this period of incarceration may be seen as one of the main factors leading to his premature death.

Most of Dai's poetry would henceforth be tinged with patriotic sentiment, but none more effectively and artistically successfully as 'With my injured hand'. The poem poignantly illustrates the poet's style in his later period. The coming together of memory and imagination in the expression of the physical beauty of China is accomplished with virtuoso technique.

This is no explicit propaganda poem but a personal statement far more effective than any straightforward anti-Japanese propaganda literature written in the realist style favoured by most progressive writers at the time could ever be:

# 我用殘損的手掌

我用殘損的手掌

摸索這廣大的土地；

這一角已變成灰燼，

那一角祇是血和泥；

這一片湖該是我的家鄉，

（春天，堤上繁花如錦障，

嫩柳枝折斷有奇異的芬芳）

我觸到荇藻和水的微涼；

這長白山的雪峯冷到徹骨，

這黃河的水夾泥沙在指間滑出；

江南的水田，你當年新生的禾草

是那麼細，那麼輕；現在祇有蓬蒿；

嶺南的荔枝花寂寞地憔悴，

儂那邊，我廬着南海沒有漁船的苦水……

無形的手掌掠過無限的江山，

手指沾了血和灰，手掌黏了陰暗，

祇有那遠遠的一角依然完整，

溫暖，明朗，堅固而蓬勃生存。

在那上面，我用殘損的手掌輕撫，

像戀人的柔髮，嬰孩手中乳。

我把全部的力量運在手掌

貼在上面，寄與愛和一切希望，

因為祇有那裏是太陽，是春，

將驅逐陰暗，帶來更生，

因為祇有那裏我們不像牲口一樣活，

蟻蟻一樣死；那裏，永恆的中國！

一九四二年七月三日

43

With my injured hand  
I grope around on this expansive earth:  
This corner has already turned to ashes,  
This corner is only blood and mud:  
This stretch of water must be my old home,  
(In the springtime, the dyke-top flourishes  
like a tapestry,  
The young willow branches broken in two  
emit a rare fragrance.)  
I touch the coolness of the reeds and water;  
The snowy peaks of Long White Mountain chill  
the bones,  
The water in the Yellow River carries the sand  
and mud which slip through the fingers;  
Paddy fields south of the Yangtse, in those  
days your shoots

Were so fine, so tender... now there are  
 only fleabane and wormwood;  
 The lizhi blossoms 'South of the Peaks' look  
 lonely and weary,  
 And right over there, I dip my hand into the bitter water  
 of a South China Sea without fishing boats...  
 My formless hand flits over limitless rivers  
 and mountains,  
 My fingers are stained with blood and ashes,  
 my palm with gloom,  
 There is just that distant corner which is still  
 whole,  
 Warm, bright, strong and growing spring.  
 Over there I touch lightly with my injured hand,  
 Like a lover's soft hair, like a breast in a  
 baby's hands.  
 Putting all my strength into my hand,  
 I hold it firm, I place love and all my hope there,  
 Because only there, is there sun, is there spring  
 To expel darkness, and bring rebirth,  
 Because only there will we have a life different  
 to animals,  
 A death different to that of ants...Only there,  
 in everlasting China!

3rd July, 1942.

The poem seems at first glance to be an  
 emotive patriotic piece and nothing more; it is regard-  
 ed as such by contemporary Chinese critics—both main-  
 land and Taiwanese.<sup>44</sup> But although this poem deals  
 with a concrete situation, a geographical entity and  
 the scars of war, 'realism' and 'representationalism'  
 turn almost immediately, through a novel use of down-  
 to-earth imagery, into a surrealist yet perceptive  
 portrayal.

The standard interpretation of this poem is  
 simply of a hand poring over a map. Dominic Cheung  
 has expressed it thus: "In the beginning, it is a  
 realistic hand, groping on a piece of map...In  
 reality, the poet is being trampled by heart-breaking

sorrows and frustrations. Subsequently, the symbol of the hand attained a transcendant metaphysical existence. The release of imagination is the initial force for a tragic catharsis..."<sup>45</sup> In other words the map is a trigger for surrealist expression. The hand stretching out achieves a metaphysical nature as its touch, like the touch of a blind man, whose eyes are in his finger-tips, passes over each piece of scenery. This independent eye is like the lens of a camera zooming in and out as it moves over the surface and then cutting to the next scene.

Lodge has noted "film was a major source of inspiration for many of the 1930s writers."<sup>46</sup> But the techniques of documentary film were seen as an inspiration by those writers seeking a new Realism and indeed Jakobson sees film as a metonymic mode in his scheme. Montage, too, is seen as metonymic, "not metaphorical for the various items in it belong to the same general context..."<sup>47</sup>

The example cited by Lodge would seem to support the theory that film had an influence on writers of the 1930s, for writing of Orwell's cinematic technique, Lodge comments that "George Bowling's [the protagonist in *Coming up for Air*] prophecy of totalitarian terror engulfing England: ...is like a newsreel, cutting from one representative scene or close-up to another."<sup>48</sup>

But surely Dai Wangshu is exploiting the

imagination, once again employing the devices of dream and memory to achieve his desired end. Otherwise the feelings expressed are more 'real' than usual with Dai because there is nothing interposed between the heart (here the feeling hand) and the object. But the conception of the crippled hand superimposes a Surrealist aspect on this groping of a map as if the hand were a kind of 'roving eye' as suggested.<sup>49</sup> And does not this device of the hand to introduce this dream-like sequence break the general context of a description of a wartorn existence? It is hardly metonymic when the hand is portrayed as a vehicle through which "love and hope" are almost mystically conveyed.

The poem is not necessarily metonymic and yet it does use literary devices similar to those of the cinema, to cut "from one representative scene or close up to another," as Lodge puts it.

Perhaps comparing Dai's technique in this poem to cinematic tricks is inappropriate, but the poem inspires a vigorous interpretation of the action of the hand —which with its swift but jerky motion builds up a progressive and continuous motion—than that of a mere day-dream resulting from touching a map.<sup>50</sup>

Perhaps a Surrealist picture, classified as metaphoric by Jakobson, would be a more accurate description of the visual images conjured up by a reading of this poem, than a documentary film, but the Surrealist picture would, after all, have to be a



motion picture!

The poem is certainly one of Dai's most daring poetic conceptions outside his more favoured introspective themes. Unfortunately the poet was not to pursue its possibilities.

His next poem 'Xin yuan' / 心願 (Desire), written over six months later is not such a *tour de force*. It matches everyday language with a desire for the return of simple everyday pleasure and is somewhat lacking in subtlety:

# 心願

幾時可以開顏笑笑，  
把肚子吃一個飽，  
到樹林子去散一會兒步，  
然後回來安逸地睡一覺？  
只有把敵人打倒。

幾時可以再看見朋友們，  
跟他們遊山，玩水，談心，  
喝杯咖啡，抽一枝煙，  
唸唸詩，坐上大半天？  
只有送敵人入殮。

幾時可以一家團聚，  
拍拍妻子，抱抱兒女，  
燒個好菜，看本電影，  
回來開懷談笑到更深？  
只有將敵人殺盡。

只有起來打擊敵人，  
自由和幸福纔會臨降，  
否則這些全是白日夢  
和沒有現實的游想。

一九四三年一月二十八日

51

When shall I be able to have a good laugh,  
Eat a hearty meal,  
Take a walk in the woods,  
And then return to have an untroubled nap?

Only when the enemy has been smashed.

When shall I be able to see my friends again,  
Wander in the hills, enjoy the water and  
have a good chat,  
Have a cup of coffee, smoke a cigarette,  
Recite some poetry and sit around half the  
day?

Only when the enemy is in its coffin.

When will the whole family be able to get  
together,  
Pat the wife, embrace the children,  
Cook a good meal, see a film,  
Come back to sit around the stove chatting and  
laughing until the early hours?  
Only when the enemy has been killed off.

Only if we rise up and strike the enemy,  
Freedom and happiness will then come,  
If not, all this is a day dream  
And has no prospect of realisation.

28th January 1943.

While it is interesting to note that the poet's hopes were not that different from the man-in-the-street, the poems lacks the poetic inspiration usually found in the poet's work. Its writing was doubtless an act of political courage for had the poem found its way into 'enemy', that is Japanese, hands the poet would certainly have paid dearly for it.

Artistically it is nevertheless disappointing. And at the end of 1943 the poet started a series of poems, which while still having the public disaster of war and occupation hovering in the background, depend, sadly, on the poet's own inclement history.

Unfortunately for the poet, fortunately for the reader, the desperation and loneliness of Dai's life provide the poet with the inspiration to write

some intensely moving and emotionally sensitive poems. The introspection is reminiscent of Dai's pre-War poetry with the significant difference that the nostalgia, loneliness and melancholy are all rooted in the poet's deeply-felt experience, and the memories real.

It is as if the poet has lived out the abstractly felt emotions. Gone is the elaborate if clever use of metaphor, replaced by the plain language of real experience. The first of these poems is 'Deng dai' 等待 (Waiting):

### 等待

我等待了兩年，  
你們還是這樣遙遠啊！  
我等待了兩年，  
我的眼睛已經望倦啊！  
說六個月可以回來啦，  
我卻等待了兩年啊，  
我已經這樣衰敗啦，  
誰知道還能夠活幾天啊。

我守望着你們的腳步，  
在熟稔的貧困和死亡間，  
當你們再來，帶着幸福，  
會在泥土中看見我張大的眼。

一九四三年十二月三十一日

I have waited two years,  
You are still so far away!  
I have waited two years,  
My eyes are already weary with looking!

You said you'd be back in six months,  
 But I've waited two years,  
 I am already defeated,  
 Who knows how many more days I'll manage  
     to live,

I am on guard for your footsteps,  
 In familiar poverty and death,  
 When you come back bringing good fortune,  
 You will see my eyes opened wide in the  
     earth.

31st December, 1943.

Dai is here bewailing his wife's desertion. Self-pity or justified indignation at his wife's lack of concern? Dai must have certainly realised by now that his wife would never return and his circumstances (imprisonment, ill-health, and poverty) made his resentment more pronounced. The poet seems convinced of his impending death, or perhaps this is but a threat.

He takes up the theme in a poem entitled 'Dengdai (er)' 等待(二) (Waiting (2)) where he fills in the background with details of his prison experiences.

Metonymy and metaphor balance here to great effect: emotions expressed in gloomy but original imagery and prison suffering coldly and realistically detailed. Given the following poems, it may be seen as a chastisement for his wife, as if to instil sentiments of guilt, as if the facts and feelings would force her to return:

## 等待其二

你們走了，留下我在這裏等，  
看血污的鋪石上徘徊着鬼影，  
飢餓的眼睛凝望着鐵欄，  
勇敢的胸膛迎着白刃；  
恥辱黏住每一顆赤心，  
在那裏，熾烈地燃燒着悲憤。

把我遺忘在這裏，讓我見見  
屈辱的極度，沉痛的界限，  
做個證人，做你們的耳，你們的眼，  
尤其做你們心，受苦難，磨鍊，  
彷彿是大地的一塊，讓鐵蹄蹂躪，  
彷彿是你們的一滴血，遺在你們後面。

沒有眼淚沒有語言的等待；  
生和死那麼緊地相貼相排，  
而在兩者間，願長的歲月在那裏擠，  
結伴兒走路，好像難兄難弟。

原地只兩步遠近，我知道  
安然佔六尺黃土，蓋六尺青草；  
可是這兒也沒有什麼大不同，  
在這陰濕，窒息的窖籠：  
做白鼠的巢穴，做滑腳缸，  
讓腳氣慢慢延伸到小腹上，  
做柔道的呆對手，劍術的靶子，  
從口鼻一齊喝水，然後給踩肚子，  
膝頭壓在尖釘上，磚頭墊在腳踵上，  
聽鞭子在皮骨上舞，做飛機在樑上盪；

多少人從此就沒有回來，  
然而活着的卻耐心地等待。  
讓我在這裏等待，  
耐心地等你們回來：  
做你們的耳目，我曾經生活，  
做你們的心，我永遠不屈服。

一九四四年一月十八日

You went, leaving me here to wait,  
 To see ghostly shadows hovering over  
     the blood smeared flagstones,  
 Hungry eyes stare at the iron railing,  
 Brave chests greet the white blade:  
 Humiliation clings to every pure heart,  
 Where sadness and anger burn fiercely.

You have left me here forgotten, to see  
 The extremities of humiliation, the  
     boundaries of anguish,  
 To be a witness, to be your ears, your  
     eyes,  
 Especially to be your heart, to suffer  
     hardship and trial,  
 Like a big clump of earth with horse shoes  
     tramping over it,  
 Like a drop of your blood, left behind you.

A tearless, wordless waiting:  
 Life and death so closely pressed together,  
 And between the two, long years have forced  
     their way in,  
 Walking together, like brothers in adversity.

The burial ground is only two steps away,  
     I know  
 Calmly occupying six feet of yellow soil,  
     covered by six feet of green grass,  
 But in here there is no great difference,  
 In this gloomy damp, suffocatingly narrow  
     cage:

A nest for lice, a bucket for slops,  
 While athlete's foot spreads up to your belly,  
 A judo dummy, a target for sword practice,  
 Snorting up water through the mouth and nose at the same  
     time, pumped out with feet treading on your belly,  
 Kneeling on nails, bricks under your ankles forcing up  
     your legs lower and lower,  
 Listening to the whip dance on your skin and bones,  
     suspended from a rafter doing the aeroplane...

How many people have not come back from this,  
 The living still patiently wait.

Let me wait here,  
 Patiently wait for your return:

As your eyes and ears I have lived,  
 As your heart, I shall never surrender.

18th January 1944.

A frightening scenario indeed. If Dai suffered  
 such tortures or merely had to watch others suffer,

it is no wonder he was so bitter. In particular, "doing the aeroplane" was an extremely painful method of torture: the victim being suspended from the ceiling with his hands tied behind his back.

Throughout the poem runs the theme of the poet suffering on behalf of those for whom he waits: those because the "you" of both these poems is a plural "you" (Nimen 你们), that his wife is intended is almost certain, and the other person intended by "you" was most probably his daughter.

The latter two poems and the subsequent three based on idealized memories of the poet's much missed family, were all written after Dai's marriage with his second wife, Yang Lizhen.<sup>54</sup>

It would seem somewhat incongruous that this sequence of poems and the memories that inspired them were triggered by the poet's remarriage but it would appear to be the case. If, however, we look closely at the facts and dates involved, the scenario becomes a little clearer. Dai married Yang Lizhen on the 9th May 1943, his second daughter (his first child by Lizhen) was born on the 24th September 1943: less than four and a half months later. Evidently the marriage was a hasty one and there was a definite degree of necessity involved!<sup>55</sup>

The fact that Dai may have been forced to remarry is perhaps a significant factor leading to the writing of these poems. That his previous wife had

left Dai for good is almost certain, but his remarriage signifies the impossibility of their reunion. His first wife thus became a classic subject for the nostalgia and memory which fed so much of Dai's poetic inventiveness.

There is perhaps too an element of guilt in the two 'Waiting' poems as Dai blames others for the dilemma he is in. Had Mu Lijuan returned with their daughter he might not have found himself in such circumstances, but he himself has sealed his fate. The two poems may be an expression of the bitterness caused by that fate.

The subsequent poems show Dai, during the first year or so of his new marriage, recalling the joys of his former marriage and the sorrow of his current situation, as in 'Guo jiuju (chugao)' 过旧居(初稿)  
(Passing by the old house (first draft)):

過  
舊  
居  
初  
稿

靜掩的窗子隔住塵封的幸福，  
寂寞的溫暖飽和着遼遠的炊煙——  
陌生的聲音還是解凍的呼喚？……  
挹淚的過客在往昔生活了一瞬間。

一九四四年三月二日



A quiet closed window keeping in dust-laden  
happiness,  
Lonely warmth full of distant smoke —  
A stranger's voice or an unfrozen call?...  
The passer-by brushing aside the tears, back  
in bygone days for an instant.

2nd March, 1944.

The nostalgia now is for a real past, even  
if the memory and imagination conspire to idealize it.

As with 'Dengdai' the poet goes on to expand  
the theme in a second poem, in which the happy memories  
are supplanted by a bitter grief that feels almost a  
physical burden:

## 过 旧 居

这样迟迟的日影，  
这样温暖的寂静，  
这片午炊的香味，  
对我是多么熟稔。

这带露台，这扇窗，  
后面有幸福在窥望，  
还有几架书，两张床，  
一瓶花……这已是天堂。

我没有忘记：这是家，  
妻如玉，女儿如花，  
清晨的呼唤和灯下的闲话，  
想一想，会叫人发傻，

单听他们亲昵地叫，  
就够人整天地骄傲，  
出门时挺起胸，伸直腰，  
工作时也抬头微笑。

现在……可不是我回家午餐？……  
桌上一定摆上了盘和碗，  
亲手调的羹，亲手煮的饭，  
想起了就会嘴馋。

这条路我曾经走了多少回！  
多少回？……过去都压缩成一堆，  
叫人不能分辨，日子是那么相类，  
同样幸福的日子，这些孪生姊妹！

我可糊涂啦，是不是今天  
出门时我忘记说“再见”？  
还是这事情发生在许多年前，  
其中间隔着许多变迁？

可是这带露台，这扇窗，  
那里却这样静，没有声响，  
没有可爱的影子，娇小的叫嚷，  
只是寂寞，寂寞，伴着阳光。

而我的脚步为什么又这样累？  
是否我肩上压着苦难的年岁，  
压着沉哀，透渗到骨髓，  
使我眼睛朦胧，心头消失了光辉？

为什么辛酸的感觉这样新鲜？  
好象伤没有收口，苦味在舌间。  
是一个归途的游想把我欺骗，  
还是灾难的日月真横亘其间？

我不明白，是否一切都没改动，  
却是我自己做了白日梦，  
而一切都在那里，原封不动，  
欢笑没有冰凝，幸福没有尘封？

或是那些真实的岁月，年代，  
走得太快一点，赶上了现在，  
回过头来瞧瞧，匆忙又退回来，  
再陪我走几步，给我瞬间的欢快？

.....  
有人开了窗，  
有人开了门，  
走到露台上——  
一个陌生人。

生活，生活，漫漫无尽的苦路！  
咽泪吞声，听自己疲倦的脚步：  
遮断了魂梦的不仅是海和天，云和树，  
无名的过客在往昔作了瞬间的踌躇。

一九四四年三月十日

57

#### PASSING BY THE OLD HOUSE

This kind of leisurely moving shadow,  
This kind of warm stillness,  
The fragrance of this plume of midday smoke  
Is so familiar to me.

This verandah, this window,  
From behind which happiness peeps out,  
And there are some bookshelves, two beds,  
A vase of flowers...this is already Paradise.

I have not forgotten...this is home,  
A wife like jade, a daughter like a flower,  
The early morning exchanges an idle chat under  
the lamplight.  
To think of it makes me light-headed.

Just to hear their intimate greeting,  
Is enough to make me proud all day long,  
Going out of the door with my chest stuck out,  
head held high,  
And even when at work lifting my head to smile.

Now...is that me going home for lunch?...  
The table will certainly be laid,  
Broth made with her own hands, food cooked with  
her own hands,  
Just thinking about it makes my mouth water.

How many times have I walked down this road!  
 How many times?...the past is all compressed  
     together,  
 It cannot be separated, the days are so  
     similar.  
 All the same sort of happy days, like so many  
     twin sisters.

How stupid I am, to-day as I went out of the  
     door,  
 Didn't I forget to say 'Good-bye'?  
 Or was it years ago that it happened,  
 With many changes in between?

But this dew covered terrace, this window,  
 Now so quiet, there isn't a sound,  
 No adorable shadows, no dainty shouts,  
 Just loneliness, loneliness, together with  
     the sunlight.

And why are my footsteps heavy like this?  
 Is it the years of tribulation pressing down  
     on my back,  
 Pressing grief, seeping into my bones,  
 Making my eyes hazy, my heart lose its  
     radiance?

Why are tearful feelings so fresh?  
 It seems the wound has not healed, the bitter  
     taste is on my tongue,  
 Have I deceived myself thinking up these thoughts  
     on the way home,  
 Or have they really been days and months of  
     disaster in between?

I do not understand, could it be that nothing  
     has moved on,  
 But it's me who's been having a day dream,  
 And everything is there, in its original state:  
 Laughter and joy not frozen, happiness not  
     turned into dust?

Or maybe those actual years, decades,  
 Have gone a little too quickly, overtaking the  
     present,  
 So when I turn, they will hurriedly come back,  
 To accompany me for a few steps, giving me fleeting  
     happiness.

.....  
 Someone has opened the window,  
 Someone has opened the door,  
 Is going on to the terrace —  
 A stranger.

Life, life, slow never-ending bitter road!  
 Biting back the tears, listening to one's heavy  
 footsteps:  
 What obstructs my dreaming is not only the ocean  
 and the sky, the clouds and the trees,  
 The nameless passing traveller lingered for a  
 fleeting moment in bygone days.

10th March 1944.

In addition to the straightforward narrative of this poem, the content reveals something more, memory and nostalgia which have so often provided the poet with refuge and comfort serve now only to deepen his lonely plight.

Memory and the idealized visions projected through nostalgia now only lead to despair: "Life, life, slow never-ending bitter road!"

The poem may be seen as the most significant of the volume, and as representing most completely the sentiment of its title, as the poet remembers the halcyon days spent with his first wife and daughter in their home, 'Woodbrook Villa', on Pokfulam Road, and muses that life since has brought him but "years of tribulation", "days and months of disaster".<sup>58</sup>

The notion that this lost and idealized domestic bliss constituted the happiest period of the poet's life is borne out by the subsequent poems written in 1944 which dwell on his former home and family. The idyll is drawn in detail in the poem 'Shi zhangnǚ 东长女 (For my eldest daughter):

## 示 长 女

记得那些幸福的日子！

女儿，记在你幼小的心灵：  
你童年点缀着海鸟的彩翎，  
贝壳的珠色，潮汐的清音，  
山岚的苍翠，繁花的绣锦，  
和爱你的父母的温存。

我们曾有一个安乐的家，  
环绕着淙淙的泉水声，  
冬天曝着太阳，夏天笼着清荫，  
白天有朋友，晚上有恬静，  
岁月在窗外流，不来打搅  
屋里终年长驻的欢欣，  
如果人家窥见我们在灯下谈笑，  
就会觉得单为了这也值得过一生。

我们曾有一个临海的园子，  
它给我们滋养的番茄和金笋，  
你爸爸读倦了书去垦地，  
你妈妈在太阳阴里缝纫，  
你呢，你在草地上追彩蝶，  
然后在温柔的怀里寻温柔的梦境。

人人说我们最快活，  
也许因为我们生活过得蠢，  
也许因为你妈妈温柔又美丽，  
也许因为你爸爸诗句最清新。

可是，女儿，这幸福是短暂的，  
一霎时都被云锁烟埋，  
你记得我们的小园临大海，  
从那里你们一去就不再回来，  
从此我对着那迢迢的天涯，  
松树下常常徘徊到暮霭。

那些绚烂的日子，象彩蝶，  
现在枉费你摸索追寻，  
我仿佛看见你从这间房  
到那间，用小手挥逐阴影，  
然后，缅想着天外的父亲，  
把疲倦的头搁在小小的绣枕。

可是，记着那些幸福的日子，  
女儿，记在你幼小的心灵：  
你爸爸仍旧会来，象往日，  
守护你的梦，守护你的醒。

一九四四年六月二十七日

59

Remember those happy days!  
Daughter, in your little heart:  
Your young years were embellished by  
sea birds coloured wings,  
The pearl colour of the sea shell, clear  
sound of the tides,

Kingfisher blue of the mountain mists, a  
 tapestry of flowers,  
 And the loving kindness of your parents.

We had a happy home,  
 Surrounded by the sound of the purling spring,  
 In winter warmed up by the sun, in summer  
     protected by cool shade,  
 In the daytime having friends around, in the  
     evening tranquility,  
 Outside, the years and months flowed by,  
     not disturbing  
 The year round happiness inside,  
 If people could have glimpsed our laughing and  
     chatting under the lamp,  
 They would have thought that just for this,  
     living was worthwhile.

We had a garden by the sea,  
 It gave us tomatoes and golden bamboo shoots  
     to eat,  
 Your father weary with reading would go and till  
     the soil,  
 Your mother would sit and sew in the shade,  
 And you, you would chase the colourful butterflies  
     on the grass,  
 And then in tender arms seek tender dreams.

People said we had the happiest of lives,  
 Perhaps because our life was dull,  
 Perhaps because your mother was tender and  
     beautiful,  
 Perhaps because your father's verses were so novel.

But daughter, this happiness was short lived,  
 In an instant enveloped by cloud and mist;  
 You remember our little garden by the sea,  
 From there you went away together and never came  
     back,  
 From then on I faced that distant horizon,  
 Often lingering under the pine trees until hazy  
     dusk.

Those brilliant days were like a colourful  
     butterfly,  
 It is vain for you to seek and pursue them,  
 I seem to see you coming from that room  
 To this, swishing away a shadow with a tiny hand,  
 And then, thinking about your absent father,  
 Lay your tired head on a tiny embroidered pillow.

But remember those happy days,  
 Daughter, remember in your young heart:  
 Your father will yet come, just as before,

To guard over your dreams, to guard over your  
waking hours.

27th June 1944.

This sentiment, that the best of life is behind  
him, is brought to its climax in the poet's 'Zeng nei'  
**贈內** (For my wife). The dedication almost certainly  
refers to Dai's first wife.

贈內

空白的詩帖，  
幸福的年歲；  
因為我苦澀的詩節  
祇為災難樹里程碑。  
即使清麗的詞華  
也會消失牠的光鮮，  
恰如你鬢邊憔悴的花  
映着明媚的朱顏。  
不如寂寂地過一世，  
受着你光彩的薰沐，  
一旦為後人說起時，  
但叫人說往昔某人最幸福。

一九四四年六月九日

60

The poemless blank page,  
The happy years,  
Because my bitter verse  
Just registers the milestones of disaster.

Even if my phrases are well-turned  
Their brilliance will be extinguished,  
Just like the sorry-looking flower in your hair  
Lit up by your brilliant rosy face.

It is better to go through life nameless,  
Immersed in your brilliance,  
One day when discussed by descendants,  
Let them say that a certain fellow in days gone by  
was very happy.

9th June 1944

Poetry has become little more than the medium  
in which he records the misfortune of his life. There  
is nothing strictly unpoetic in this practice and  
indeed some of the resulting poems such as 'Passing

by the old house' and 'Waiting (2)' are remarkable, but the nature of Dai's poetry is now a far cry from his earlier work, not the extension of Modernist poetry that might have been expected judging from his earlier work which cleared the way for such possibilities. His poetry now deals not with the Modernistic interpretations of reality afforded by dream and imagination, but rather a sad reflection of the poet's existence in which memory and dream are but painful reminders of a past as the poet remembers it or would like to have it remembered.

\*

The poems of the 1940s may best be seen as the efforts of an unhappy man in unhappy circumstances. His last few poems in particular are not characteristic, the pioneering Modernism dissolves. Perhaps the ravages of war and personal misfortune took their toll, but what is obvious is that the sadness and despair of the 1940s poems comes from a real loss of pleasure and happiness. The quality of the poet's 'nostalgia' is more painful than that which was used as a poetic device throughout the 1930s.

This tendency to describe the reality of his past happiness, albeit idealized, constitutes a partial retreat from Modernism and goes against the grain, for as Lodge has pointed out in his study of Modernism,



there is a "tendency [on the part of Modernist writers] to develop from a metonymic (realistic) to a metaphoric (symbolist or mythopoeic) representation of experience."<sup>61</sup> Perhaps, one of the reasons for this, is a shift from that Modernist criterion of introspection to a more outward looking perspective, but even these poems indicate the inner suffering of the poet.

The thematic trends of Dai's poetry were, on the other hand, of a kind, his pre-war poetry exploiting a cultivated nostalgia and his 1940s verses lamenting the loss of his first wife and his subsequent loneliness, now exacerbated by a nostalgia for reality.

Nadezdha Mandelstam has written of a poet's thematic fidelity in terms of the "integrated personality" thus:

"Although we all go through the same stages as we move from childhood to old age, each one of us nevertheless experiences them in his own way. It is a kind of victory over death to preserve the unity of one's personality from beginning to end..."

62

She continues her explanation of the poet's character:

...each individual poem reveals a new aspect or marks a new element in the poet's growth, ...growth is an organic thing and cannot be ordered at will.

64

There is indeed a certain element of general truth in this last statement. No one definition is broad enough to explain or categorize the course of any one poet's growth or explain its erratic nature.

We can describe Dai Wangshu as a Modernist, as a representative of Chinese Modernism, but we cannot find in each and every of his poems written over a period of twenty years, an example of that Modernism; but each adds to the composite picture of the poet.

Now that a revaluation of the poet's work has been tentatively embarked upon in his native land, the poet's legacy is coming to be acknowledged: that he opened up Chinese poetry to the Modernist poetic and that his worth lies in his achievements as an innovator. Dai discovered and translated the best of Western Modernism—both French and Spanish—and attempted to introduce the spirit of its potential into his own poetry. Towards the end of his life he was overtaken by events and the nascent Chinese Modernism he evolved, had to await disciples in a later generation.

Nevertheless his place in modern Chinese poetry as the father of the Chinese Modernist tradition is assured. As F.R. Leavis has remarked:

...the less important poets bear to tradition an illustrative relation, and the more important bear to it the more interesting kinds of relation: they represent significant development. One deals with the individual poet in terms of representative pieces of his work; one deals with tradition in terms of representative poets.

NOTES

## NOTES

[Locations of rare periodicals are noted in Bibliography.]

### NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

<sup>1</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence with the author; Dai Wangshu, *Poèmes*, trans. Yan Hansheng and Suzanne Bernard (Beijing: Littérature chinoise, Collection Panda, 1982), p. 145; Interview with Shi Zhecun, Shanghai, 19 October 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence.

<sup>3</sup> *Xin wenxue shiliao* 《新文学史料》 no. 2 (1981), p. 273.

<sup>4</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence. According to Shi, Dai did not start writing poetry until 1923.

<sup>5</sup> *Hong zazhi* 《红杂志》 1,6 (1922).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1,8 (1922).

<sup>7</sup> *Banyue* 《半月》 2,7 (1922).

<sup>8</sup> Xiao Yingshen 萧应深, "Shiren Dai Wangshu" 诗人戴望舒, *Dushu* 《读书》, no. 5 (1980), p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> Ding Wang 丁望, *Zhongguo sanshi niandai zuojia pinglun* 《中国三十年代作家评论》, (Hong Kong, 1978) gives the date as 1922, contradicting Shi Zhecun's assertion that Dai graduated from high school in 1923.

<sup>10</sup> Du Heng 杜衡, Preface to *Wangshu cao* 《望舒草》, by Dai Wangshu 戴望舒 (Shanghai: *Xiandai shuju* 现代书局, 1933, according to whom very few poems from this period survived.

<sup>11</sup> Xiao Yingshen, "Shiren Dai Wangshu", p. 99; also mentioned in Interview with Luo Dagang 罗大纲, Peking, 6 July 1981: see appendix 5.

<sup>12</sup> Xiao Yingshen, "Shiren Dai Wangshu", p. 99; also mentioned in Interview with Shi Zhecun, Shanghai, 16 October 1982: see appendix 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Yingluo xunkan* 《璎珞旬刊》 [Jade necklace tri-monthly], appeared during March and April 1926 and

ceased publication after only four issues.

<sup>14</sup> Zau Sinmay, "Poetry Chronicle", *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, no. 3 (1936), p. 26.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Zau also mentions the difficulties encountered by poets with established reputations in the 1930s:

"Chu Wei-chi (朱维基) produced an expensive edition of his ...verse and thereafter promptly declared himself bankrupt; while Chen Mengchia (陈梦家) could only afford to print his long poem, *Old Days*, in parts."

<sup>16</sup> Xueheng 《学衡》, no. 47 (1926).

<sup>17</sup> *Yingluo xunkan*, no. 2, (1926), pp. 13-14:

"查尔奥里昂 Charles d'Orléans 的春 *Le Printemps*

李译 风微雨歇严寒解。春已脱袍露真面。别换新长衫。  
日光澄澈明而艳。

原文 Le temps a laissé son manteau  
De vent, de foidure et de pluie,  
Et s'est vêtu de broderie  
De soleil raillant, clair et beau.

大意 「时间已弃了他的风,雨,雨的大衣,而穿起了光耀而  
明丽的太阳的锦衣。」李译「露真面」不知从何来。

Evidently, Dai was something of a purist and preferred a literal translation. An English translation would read: 'The weather has abandoned its cloak of/ Wind, cold and rain/ And has dressed in embroidery,/ Of shining sun, bright and beautiful.' 'Temps' is mistranslated.

Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465), father of Louis XII, was a patron of Villon with whom he ranks as one of the outstanding poets of his century.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence.

<sup>20</sup> Xiao Yingshen, "Shiren Dai Wangshu", p. 99.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, Shanghai, 16 October 1982, in which Shi states that the management of this and other ventures was invariably shared no matter who was nominally in charge.

<sup>22</sup> Xiao Yingshen, "Shiren Dai Wangshu", p.99, according to whom Feng Xuefeng 冯雪峰 also joined the editorial team. Sima Changfeng 司马长风, *Xin wenxue shihua* 《新文学史话》, (Hong Kong, Nanshan shuwu 南山书屋, 1980), p. 43, also mentions Yao Pengzi 姚蓬子和 Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 as having worked with the publishing concern; Sima's book, however, is unreliable, containing many errors of fact.

## Notes to Pages 21-23

<sup>23</sup> *Weiming* 《未名》, nos. 2, 4 and 5 (1928) respectively.

<sup>24</sup> *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 《小說月報》 19,8 (1928), 979-982. Since the magazine *Wugui lieche* 《孤軌列車》 was not launched until September 1928, Dai had to look elsewhere to publish his poetry and translations. In July his translation of a poem by the Swiss poet Juste Alivier also appeared in *Xiaoshuo yuebao* (19,7 (1928), 886).

<sup>25</sup> Dai Wangshu 戴望舒, *Wo de jiyi* 《我底記憶》 (Shanghai: Donghua shuju 東華書局, April 1929).

<sup>26</sup> 'Fragments' was re-titled 'Duanzhang' 斷章, when included in the volume *Wangshu shigao* 《望舒詩稿》 (Shanghai, 1937).

<sup>27</sup> Zhu Xiang 朱湘, "Tongxin" 通信, *Xin wenyi* 《新文艺》 1,3 (1929) was especially excited by *Wo de jiyi* and in particular by 'Rainy alley', calling it "a Prelude of China's New Poetry"/"我國新詩的一個 Prelude".

<sup>28</sup> Altogether eight issues were published, the date of publication being tenth and twenty-fifth of each month. The first issue appeared on 10 September 1928 and the last on 25 December 1928.

<sup>29</sup> *Wugui lieche* 《孤軌列車》, no. 22 (1928). 'Yeshi' was retitled simply 'Ye' 夜 when included in *Wangshu cao*.

<sup>30</sup> *Wugui lieche*, no. 4 (1928). Dai was enamoured of European short stories and novellas and translated not only French and Spanish stories, but even those written by relatively unknown European authors in minor languages. Oddly enough, Dai never attempted to write short stories himself; both Luo Dagang and Shi Zhecun were certain of this.

<sup>31</sup> 'Duzi de shihou': *Weiming* 《未名》 1,8 (1928), 268-269; 'Duan zhi': *Wugui lieche*, no. 7 (1928); 'Duiyu tian de huaixiangbing': *Wugui lieche*, no. 8 (1928); 'Wo de jiyi': *Weiming* 2,1 (1929), 19-21; 'Qiutian': *Weiming* 2,2 (1929), 49.

<sup>32</sup> Dai Wangshu, *Wo de jiyi* was published in April 1929.

<sup>33</sup> Second and third impressions appeared in November 1929 and April 1931; each had a print-run of one thousand copies.

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<sup>34</sup>*Aijing* 《愛經》, trans. Dai Wangshu (Shanghai: *Shuimo shudian* 沫書局, April 1929 and *Xiandai shuju* 現代書局, September 1932). The full range of human experience as regards love, romantic and erotic, is to be found in Ovid's *Amores*, including the treachery and infidelity which occurs between men and women. If Dai took the lessons of *Amores* to heart it is difficult to find much trace of it either in his own relationships with women or in his poetry.

<sup>35</sup>*Wukashan he Nigelaite*, 《屋卡珊和尼多萊特》, trans. Dai Wangshu with an Introduction by Shi Zhecun (Shanghai: *Guanghua shuju* 光華書局, August 1929). *Aucassin et Nicolette* is a romance in the form of *chante-fable*, written in the dialect of Picardy around 1200. The alternation of verse and prose forms suggests that it was intended for recitation by two *jongleurs*.

<sup>36</sup>*Xin wenyi* 《新文艺》. First issue: 15 September 1929; last issue: 15 April 1930.

<sup>37</sup>*Xin wenyi* 1,1 (1929), 67-75.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 151-170. Continued in the subsequent three issues.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 1,2 (October 1929), 285-286.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 279-283, using the pseudonym Jiang Si 江思. At this stage Dai was undoubtedly translating via the French.

<sup>41</sup>Azorin, letter to Dai Wangshu, 17 May 1934, see appendix 2 for copy of letter and translation. Dai translated Azorin's stories into the late 1940s.

<sup>42</sup>Zhu Xiang, "Tongxin".

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>*Yikeweizhi* [Ickowicz] 伊科微支, "Xiaoshuo yu weiwu shiguan" 小说与唯物史觀, trans. Dai Wangshu, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 20 (1929), 1878 and Dai later translated another article by Ickowicz: "Wenyi chuanguo de jigou" 文艺创作的机构, *Xiandai xiaoshuo* 《現代小說》 3.4 (1930). Both articles were taken from *La littérature à la lumière du matérialisme historique* which Dai translated and published in its entirety in August 1930 as *Weiwu shiguan de wenxue lun* 《唯物史觀的文学論》 (Shanghai: *Shuimo shudian*, 1930). It seems to have been the content rather than the fame of the author that attracted Dai, for as he makes clear in his

## Notes to Pages 25-27

Afterword — *Weiwu shiguan*, pp. 331-333— Dai knew little about the book's author:

"译者除了知道他是「世界」*Monde*的撰述者...外,别的一事也不知道." (Apart from knowing that he [Marc Ickowicz] is a writer for *Monde* ...the translator [Dai] does not know the first thing about him.)

*Monde* (not *Le Monde* of course) was a socialist journal belonging to Barbusse which thrived in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Few Communists wrote for it, except those in secure positions such as Ehrenburg and Vaillant-Couturier, until after the United Front pact in 1934.

<sup>45</sup> *Xin wenyi* 1,4 (1929), 604-605 and 1,5 (1930), 841-845.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 2,1 (1930), 93-96.

<sup>47</sup> *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 21 (1930), 955.

<sup>48</sup> "Cong geren aihan dao wei renmin huhao" 从个人哀叹到为人民呼号, *Fujian ribao* 《福建日报》, 2 September 1981, <Wenyi suibi> 文艺随笔, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 16 October 1982.

<sup>50</sup> For the relationship between political conviction and its manifestation in the work of an artist, the most apt appraisal the author has found is in Herbert Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964), p. 20:

"The artist's awareness of these [economic, political and social] conditions rarely assumes a politically conscious form, and certainly there is no correlation to be made between such consciousness in the artist and his degree of originality. Courbet, Pissarro, William Morris—these are the politically conscious artists and they have an important place in the history of modern art. But a more important place is taken by artists like Cézanne, Gauguin and Matisse, whose awareness of the social context of their work was never expressed in a political formula ...The social context is the totality of our way of life, and its impact on the artist may be through a philosophy or a science, or even through a pair of old boots (Van Gogh) or a heap of rubbish (Schwitters)."

This is in accord with what Shi Zhecun has said about judging a man's politics from his writing, or rather determining his reaction to the 'social con-



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ext' with such facile criteria. It is interesting to note that Shi Zhecun is a long standing admirer of Herbert Read and in the 1930s translated Read's *Art Now as Jinri zhi yishu* 《今日之艺术》 (Shanghai: Shangwu 商务, 1935).

<sup>51</sup> "Wentan xiaoxi" 文坛消息, *Xin wenyi* 2, 1 (1930), 215-220.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 16 October 1982.

<sup>53</sup> 'Bachongzi' 八重子 and 'Wo de sumiao' 我的素描, *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 21 (1930), 955.

<sup>54</sup> Asuolin 阿索林 *Xiwantisi de weihunqi* 《西万提斯的未婚妻》 [Azorin, Cervantes' fiancée], trans. Xu Xiacun 徐霞村 and Dai Wangshu (Shanghai, *Shenzhou guoguang she* 神州国光社, 1930; reprint ed., Fujian: *Renmin chubanshe* 人民出版社, 1982 with Foreword by Xu Xiacun and re-titled: *Xibanya xiaojing* 《西班牙小景》. Azorin's original work, a collection of prose and short stories, is entitled simply *España* [Spain]; Dai and Xu took the title *Xiwantisi de weihunqi* from one of the short stories contained in the collection, fearing that publishers might not accept *Xibanya*, as it could have been mistaken for a geography treatise if the original title had been maintained! The book was translated from French. See reprint edition, pp.1-4.

Libiejinsiji 李别金斯基, *Yizhoujian* 《一周间》 [Yuri Libedinsky, 'A week'] trans. Jiangsi [Dai Wangshu] (Shanghai: *Shuimo shudian*, 1930); original: *Nedelya* by Yuri Libedinsky (1898-1959), *Неделя* Ю. Либединский. The novel was hailed in *Pravda* as the "first swallow of Soviet literature" when it appeared in 1922. It concerned the quelling of a White rebellion.

<sup>55</sup> Yikeweizhi, *Weiwushiguan de wenxuelun*, trans. Dai Wangshu. This translation appeared as the second in an eight volume series: 'Makesizhuyi de wenyi luncong' 马克思主义的文艺论丛. Lu Xun and Feng Xuefeng were the general editors of the series. Apart from translated works by Feng Xuefeng and Du Heng, Lu Xun himself contributed three volumes: *Yishulun* 《艺术论》, *Wenyi zhengce* 《文艺政策》, and *Wenyi yu piping* 《文艺与批评》. The series was also known as 'Kexue de yishu luncong' 科学的艺术论丛.

<sup>56</sup> *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 21 (1930), 1741-46. Victor Serge, *Mémoires d'un révolutionnaire* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1951)—the more widely available Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, trans. Peter Sedgwick (London: Writers and Readers, 1984) is used throughout the present work—is a valuable commentator on Soviet, French and Spanish political and literary

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affairs. Born in Russia, brought up in Belgium, a political activist in France, Spain and Russia he became an unorthodox socialist in the Orwellian mould and is most famous for his political novels. He offers many insights into the literary figures whom Dai mentions in his essays and knew while in France. Of Mayakovsky's life and death he has written:

"I know he had spent the previous night drinking...On 14 April 1930, Vladimir Mayakovsky fired a bullet into his heart. I wrote of this (in Paris, anonymously): 'He was a wonderful "fellow-traveller"; he wasted his best talents in a weary quest for God knows what ideological line, demanded of him by petty pedants who made a living out of it....Mayakovsky had just joined Leopold Averbach's Association of Proletarian Authors. In his last poem, 'At the Top of my Voice!' he wrote of '*the petrified crap of the present....*' " (ibid., p. 267).

<sup>57</sup> Esenin (or Yesenin) was a colourful, romantic figure who seems to have interested Dai a great deal. Married for a time to Isadora Duncan, he travelled widely in Europe and in 1924 to Persia. By now a hopeless alcoholic, he remarried. In late 1925, he hanged himself after writing a farewell poem in his blood:

"Sergei Yesenin, our matchless poet, has committed suicide. The telephone rings: 'Come quickly, Yesenin has killed himself.' ...I enter his room in the Hotel International, and I hardly recognize him...The night before he had been drinking, of course,... In the morning he awoke depressed, and felt the urge to write something. No pencil... was at hand...: only a razor blade, with which he slashed his wrist. And so, with a rusty pen dipped in his own blood, Yesenin wrote:

*Au revoir, friend, au revoir....  
...There is nothing new about dying  
in this life  
But there is surely nothing new about  
living either.*

They found him hanging with a suitcase-strap around his neck....Thirty years old,... he was our greatest lyrical poet..." (Serge, *Memoirs*, p. 195).

Yesenin's poetry belongs to that of the Imaginist School. Imaginism, borrowing its name from the English 'imagists', was launched in 1919 and petered out in 1927. Believing in the supremacy of images in poetry, their major theme was the doom of the lonely

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individual in a modern city. It was probably this theme which attracted Dai Wangshu's attention. There is an article by Dai on Yesenin in *Xiandai* 《现代》 5 (1934), 411-421, adapted and translated from an article by Benjamin Goriely, and a selection of Yesenin's poems translated and introduced in *Xinshi* 《新诗》 2 (1937), 59-65.

<sup>58</sup> *Wenyi yuekan* 2, 11 & 12 (1931), a translation of an Italian short story by Matilde Serao (1856-1927), Italian journalist and novelist who also produced numerous short stories such as the one translated here by Dai, probably from a French version: 'Lao chu nu' 处女, the original of which has proven difficult to locate.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang, in which Luo also says that Shi Zhecun accompanied Dai. Shi, however (Interview with Shi Zhecun, 16 October 1982), cannot recall the trip.

<sup>60</sup> *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 22, (1931), 59; 295; 1279-81.

<sup>61</sup> *Beidou* 《北斗》 1, 3 (1931), 60-61. This magazine was established as an organ of the League of Left Wing Writers with Ding Ling 丁玲 as editor:

"一九三一年下半年,由左联领导发动了公开月刊《北斗》,由丁玲...一九三二年四月...被禁."

[In the second half of 1931, an open monthly *Beidou* was established under the leadership of the League...In April 1932 it was closed down.] (Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan wenxue yanjiusuo 中国社会科学院文学研究所, eds., *Zuolian huiyilu* 左联回忆录 (n.p., Zhongguo shehuikexueyuan chubanshe, 1982), p. 152).

<sup>62</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Yidian yijian" 一点意见, *Beidou* 2 (1932), 148.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. and Interview with Shi Zhecun, 16 October 1982, in which Shi makes some incisive comments on the Left establishments's stance on realism and its idealistic nature:

"What they wrote was political realism, what we wrote was social realism. A lot of writers felt like us but didn't dare to say so. We said so. Revolutions don't always succeed, people get fed up, disillusioned. Stories don't always end optimistically—life isn't like that. They wanted everything to end with an optimistic revolutionary twist. We knew

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that wasn't realism."

<sup>65</sup> Sima Changfeng, *Xinwenxue shihua*, p.43.

<sup>66</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Xiandai zayi" 《现代》杂忆, *Xinwenxue shiliao*, no. 1 (1981), p. 213.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

<sup>1</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Xiandai zayi", p. 213. The proprietors of the publishing company were Hong Xuefeng 洪雪帆 and Zhang Jinglu 张静庐

<sup>2</sup> *Xiandai* 《现代》 1 (1932), 81-86. 'Guoshi' 过时 (Out of date) was one of six poems subsequently published in French by the literary magazine *Les Cahiers du Sud*; see appendices 2 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Xiandai* 1 (1932), 401-408. 'Youzi yao' 游子谣 (Ballad of a traveller) was accepted for publication by *Cahiers du Sud* with the proviso that the last three lines be deleted; see appendices 2 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> Etienneble, letter to the author, 17 June 1983: "...Vaillant-Couturier étant le représentant du P.C. aux Amis du peuple chinois." Vaillant-Couturier was an important figure in the intellectual life of the Left in France during the 1920s, '30s and '40s. Although Vaillant-Couturier seems to have been helpful to Dai others were conscious of his strict party discipline and ruthlessness. Victor Serge draws a useful picture of him; writing of his presence at the Comintern Congress in Moscow in the Summer of 1921:

"Paul Vaillant-Couturier, a tank officer during the war, a poet, popular orator and ex-servicemen's leader, was a tall, chubby young man of extraordinary talents, but fated to become a great disappointment to me. He understood everything that was going on; but in the future was to acquiesce in his own corruption, to become increasingly entangled with all the villainies of Bolshevikism's degeneration, and to die in working-class Paris, enviably popular" (Serge, *Memoirs*, p. 143).

<sup>5</sup> According to Shi Zhecun (Interview 16 October

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1982), this 'interview' was in fact a translation from a newspaper, probably French. For some time, before establishing the exact date of Dai's departure for France, this constituted a red herring in the author's research, as it seemed that Dai had been in Italy, and therefore France, since the Spring of 1932. Dai in fact did not visit Italy and did not, of course, arrive in France until November 1932.

<sup>6</sup> *Xiandai* 1 (1932), 740-741.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 (1932), 121-127.

<sup>8</sup> *Xiandai shifeng* 《现代诗风》, no. 1 (October 1935).

<sup>9</sup> *Yifannuofu* 伊凡诺夫, *Tiejiache* 《铁甲车》 [Ivanov, 'Armoured train'], trans. Dai Wangshu (Shanghai: *Xiandai shuju* 现代书局, 1932): evidently translated from a French version. Ivanov was a member of the Serapion Brothers, the group of individualists including Zoshenko and Fedin. His novel, brought out in 1922, was a great success based as it was on a real incident in the Soviet Far East where a group of Red guerrillas had seized a train loaded with armaments. Its transformation into a play (1927) was urged by Stanislavsky; it still runs in Soviet playhouses to this day. Ivanov born in 1895, died of natural causes in 1963.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 19 October 1982.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 19 October 1982.

<sup>13</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang, see appendix 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Ouyang xuebao* 《欧华学报》: *Journal of the Association of Chinese Scholars in Europe*, no. 1 (May 1983), p. 136. This journal contains a roll of all Chinese students to have attended the Institut franco-chinois from 1921 to 1946. There is also a short history of the institution: "Lieng zhongfa daxue" 里昂中法大学 Ye Guorong 叶国荣, pp. 119-123.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang.

<sup>16</sup> Kong Lingjing 孔另境, ed., *Xiandai zuojia shujian* 《现代作家书简》 (Canton: Huacheng 花城, 1982), p. 194.

<sup>17</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence. Dai writes in a 'Ganbu dengji biao' 干部登记表 (Cadre's registration form) that he studied at the Sorbonne from 1930 to

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1932 which is clearly impossible since he did not leave China until the end of 1932. He also states that he studies at the University of Lyons from 1932-1934 which is only partly true; he was there from the end of 1933 until the beginning of 1935. Dai further maintains that he studied in Madrid in 1935 which is also unlikely unless it was just for a month or so. Either Dai was attempting to make his academic record seem more regular than it was, or he was deliberately trying to cover his tracks. However, numerous people must have known he was in Shanghai in 1930-32. See appendix 4.

<sup>18</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence; interview with Supervielle, see *Xinshi* 1.1 (1936), pp. 112-123. Dai may also have visited Francis Jammes, see appendix 3.

<sup>19</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Faguo tongxin" 法国通信, *Xian-dai* 3 (1933), 205-208.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 305.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Yi dian yijian".

<sup>23</sup> *Cahiers d'André Gide*, Vol. 5: *Les Cahiers de la Petite Dame* [Maria van Rysselberghe]. (Notes pour l'histoire authentique d'André Gide) 1929-1937 (Paris, n.p., 1974).

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>25</sup> André Gide, *Journal: 1889-1939* (Paris: Gallimard, 1951), p. 1116.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., pp. 1116-1117.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 16 October 1982.

<sup>28</sup> Etienne, letter, 17 June 1983:

"Il ne me parlait jamais de sa vie privée mais de la politique, oui, beaucoup. Il me semblait un dur, très orthodoxe..." (He never spoke to me about his personal life, but of politics a lot. I thought him unyielding very orthodox.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Michelle Loi, *Poètes chinois d'écoles françaises* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1980), p. 56; Madame Loi claims to have a letter from Luo Dagang to Abbé Duperray which states: "Il était, à la veille

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de sa mort, sur le point d'adhérer au Parti." (On the eve of his death he was on the point of joining the Party.) Why Dai's old friend the Catholic priest should be interested to hear this is a mystery, but Luo Dagang (Interview with Luo Dagang, 1981) firmly denies having written such a thing or having told Mme. Loi such a thing when she visited him. Shi Zhecun (Interview, 16 October 1982) says that not once did Dai ever express a wish to join the Communist Party. What, then of the letter to Duperray? It is possible that Luo has forgotten having written this sentence and that this was a standard formula for communications about 'democratic persons' who had returned to the mainland. Perhaps if Dai wanted to retain his job in a state organization he would eventually have had to express a desire to join the Party, but one can only speculate.

<sup>31</sup> Gide, *Journal*, p. 1132. Victor Serge, who was in prison and latterly in internal exile during the early thirties remembers Gide for all his wavering and flirtation with the Communist Party and Russians as being a very brave man:

"...I had addressed an open letter to Gide. In it I said:

'We are building a common front against Fascism. How can we block its path, with so many concentration-camps behind us?...' [Few at that time, outside the USSR, knew of or rather chose to believe, the stories of the Russian 'Thermidor'.]

We met several times in Brussels and Paris. Though well past sixty, [in 1936] he was still surprisingly young in manner and mind. His hairless face, with its tall, bare spread of brow, was austere.... The immediate impression he gave was of extreme timidity which was, however, mastered by a scrupulous moral courage.... He was full of hesitations, but... his spirit knew no hesitation, but pronounced sentence, not without hope even then." (Serge, *Memoirs*, p. 334).

<sup>32</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Faguo tongxin", p. 308.

<sup>33</sup> Su Wen 苏汶 [Du Heng] "Guanyu 'wenxin' yu Hu Qiuyuan de wenyi lunbian" 关于「文新」与胡秋原的文艺论辩, *Xiandai*, 1 (1933), 378-385.

<sup>34</sup> Hu Qiuyuan, "Qian Xingcun lilun zhi qingsuan yu minzu wenxue lilun zhi piping" 钱杏邨理论之清算与民族文学理论之批评, *Dushu zazhi* 《读书杂志》 2, (1932), 1-46. Hu attacks Qian's literary appraisals and considers him a right-leaning Marxist. Hu, himself, believes that

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literature should be judged on its realistic depiction of life not on dogma.

<sup>35</sup> Su Wen, "Guanyu 'wenxin' yu Hu Qiuyuan de wenyi lunbian", p. 384. Du Heng also sees Hu's problem as the same as any armchair Marxist trying to talk to men of action. He also notes Hu's unquestioning acceptance of the Russian, Plekhanov.

<sup>36</sup> Yi Jia 易家 [Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白], "Wenyi ziyou he wenxuejia de bu ziyou" 文艺自由和文学家不自由, *Xiandai* 1 (1932), 780-792.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 791.

<sup>38</sup> Lu Xun 鲁迅, "You lun di san zhong ren" 又论第三种人, *Wenxue* 《文学》 1 (1933), 29-31.

<sup>39</sup> Idem, "Lun di san zhong ren" 论第三种人, *Xiandai* 1 (1932), 163-165.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang: having exhausted his funds Dai was obliged to move to Lyons and devoted himself to translating in order to make some money.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> *Dongfang zazhi* 《东方杂志》, 30, no.10 (16 May 1933), pp. 1-6. A story by Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911).

<sup>43</sup> *Xiandai* 3, 1-3, 6, 4, 2-4, 4 (1933, 1944). Raymond Radiguet (1903-1923) wrote only two novels before his premature death: *Le Diable au corps* [Devil in the flesh] (1923) and *Le Bal du comte d'Orgel* [Count d'Orgel] (1924), translated by Dai. *Le Bal* is a psycho-analytical novel written in a pure and classical style despite Radiguet's closeness to Parisian Cubist literary circles.

<sup>44</sup> *Dongfang zazhi*, 30, no.18 (16 October 1933), pp. 1-7.

<sup>45</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Xiandai zayi", p. 213.

<sup>46</sup> Etiemble, Letter to Dai, no.1. See appendix 3.

<sup>47</sup> Etiemble, letter to the author, 17 June 1982.

<sup>48</sup> [...given the responsibility of preparing, with Dai Wangshu, a special issue of *Commune*...devoted to revolutionary China] (Etiemble, *Quarante ans de mon maoïsme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), p. 17). Of course, Etiemble was not a Maoist for forty years and



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'Forty years of my maoism' deals with the author's early experiences and changing attitudes towards China.

<sup>49</sup>David Caute, *Communism and the French Intellectuals, 1914-1960* (London, Andre Deutsch, 1964), p. 46.

<sup>50</sup>Etiemble, letter to the author and see Letter no. 3, appendix 2.

<sup>51</sup>Etiemble, Letter no. 5, appendix 2.

<sup>52</sup>Letter from *Europe*, 20 August 1934. See appendix 2.

<sup>53</sup>The text of 'Haine' is available in Etiemble, *Quarante ans*, pp. 44-64.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 38-43.

<sup>55</sup>Interview with Luo Dagang; Dai Wangshu, trans., *Falanxi xiandai duanpian xiaoshuoji* 《法兰西现代短篇小说集》 (Shanghai: Tianma shudian 天马书店, May 1934): two of these stories had already been published in magazines, one by Julien Green in *Xiandai* 1,5 (1932) and the other by Giono in *Dongfang zazhi*, 30, 18 (1932).

<sup>56</sup>Gaolieli 高列里 [Goriely], "Yesaining yu Eguo yixiangshi pai" 叶塞宁与俄国意象诗派, trans. Dai Wangshu, *Xiandai* 5 (1934), 411-421. Goriely was a Russian émigré poet living in France. This article is taken from his *Les poètes dans la révolution russe*, translated in part as *Sulian shitan yihua* 《苏联诗坛逸话》. [Anecdotes about the world of Soviet poetry] (Shanghai: Zazhi gongsi 杂志公司, 1936) and unabridged as *Sulian wenxue shihua* 《苏联文学史话》 [A history of Soviet literature] (Hong Kong: Linquanju 林泉居, 1941). Dai Wangshu also published several other selections from this book in various magazines.

Yesenin: see Chapter I, note 57 above.

<sup>57</sup>Lee Hagen [Leslie Huickowitz] seems to have known Dai in France. A friend of Constance Garnett. The author of the present work has found no other reference to him or her. See appendix 2.

<sup>58</sup>Wu Xiaoling Chronology: a list of dates and facts about Dai's life that Professor Wu has tried to accumulate over the years. Some entries are more accurate than others where the information is second or third hand. It is quite possible that Dai visited Valladolid. Dai's presence in Madrid was confirmed by Shi Zhecun in correspondence with the author; see

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figure 12. In Dai's 'Cadre registration form' (see appendix 4 and note 17 above) he states that he studied at Madrid University in 1935, this seems improbable.

<sup>59</sup> Etienneble, letter to the author, 17 June 1983. Dai was, of course, in Paris in December and January 1935 see appendix 2, Duperray and Etienneble).

<sup>60</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Ji Madeli de shushi" 记马德里  
的书市 "[Remembering Madrid's book market], *Huaqiao ribao* 《华侨日报》 *Wenyi zhouban* <文艺周刊> (H.K.), no. 58, 11 March 1945, p. 2.; a reprint of which is to be found in *Xianggang wenxue* 《香港文学》, no. 2 (1985), pp. 32-33.

<sup>61</sup> "Xibanya aisigaoliyaer jingyuan suocang Zhongguo xiaoshuo, xiqu" 西班牙爱斯高里亚尔静院所藏中国小说、戏曲 [Chinese novels and operas collected in the monastery of the Escorial, Spain] in Dai Wangshu, *Xiaoshuo xiqu lunji* 《小说戏曲论集》, ed. Wu Xiaoling, (Peking: Zuo jia chubanshe 作家出版社, 1958), pp. 67-68. After describing his discovery Dai wonders, in this article, if the ravages of the Civil War in Spain had caused the books to be destroyed; battles were fought close to the Palace, or Monastery, of the Escorial. The collection is in fact intact though neglected.

<sup>62</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Ji Madeli de shushi."

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang.

<sup>64</sup> Loi, *Poètes chinois*, p. 56.

<sup>65</sup> Letters from *Europe, Noir et Blanc*, and *Cahiers du Sud*, see appendices 2 & 4.

<sup>66</sup> Etienneble, Letters to Dai, nos. 15, 17 and 18; Duperray, Letters to Dai, nos. 2, 3 and 4, see appendix 2.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang; Dai Wangshu, "Bali de shutan" 巴黎的书摊, *Yuzhoufeng* 《宇宙风》, no. 45 (16 July, 1937), pp. 435-438, describes Dai's adventures rumaging through the numerous bookstalls of Paris. Dai has two favourite pastimes in Paris: "一是看画, 二是访书" [First, looking at paintings, secondly searching for books] (ibid., p. 435). Dai also mentions a plan to write about the art galleries, but this seems not to have materialized; see appendix 4, p. 550.

<sup>68</sup> Duperray, Letter to Dai, no. 4 (see appendix 2).

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<sup>69</sup>Xinshi 《新诗》 1, (1936), 118.

<sup>70</sup>Journal of the Association of Chinese Scholars in Europe, p. 136.

<sup>71</sup>Interview with Luo Dagang.

<sup>72</sup>Dai Wangshu, trans., "Luoerjia shichao" 洛尔加诗抄 [A selection of Lorca's verse], Wenfan xiaopin 《文饭小品》, no. 1 (February 1935), pp. 83-89. The selection is accompanied by one and a half pages of notes.

<sup>73</sup>For Chinese and French versions of these poems see appendix 3.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

<sup>1</sup>According to Wu Xiaoling's Chronology, Dai taught at Guanghua University 光华大学, Shanghai, in 1937.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with Shi Zhecun, Shanghai 18 October 1982.

<sup>3</sup>Xu Chi 徐迟, "Xiao zhuan" 小传, Zhongguo xian-dai zuojia zhuanlue 《中国现代作家传略》 (Chongqing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 1981), pp. 613-614:

"那时我是一个现代派,从文章风格上来说,受有欧美现代派的影响" (At that time I was a Modernist as far as my writing style was concerned, I had been influenced by European and American Modernists).

<sup>4</sup>Gaolili 高力里 [Benjamin Goriely], trans. Dai Wangshu, "Su e shitan yihua" 苏俄诗坛逸话, Xiandai shi feng 《现代诗风》, no 1 [only issue] (October 1935), pp 73-82. See Chapter II, note 56.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>6</sup>Shi Zhecun in correspondence.

<sup>7</sup>The China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, 11th Report, (Peking, 1936). It is improbable that Dai was supported by both the U.S. committee and its U.K. counterpart.

<sup>8</sup>Wu Xiaoling has made an extensive search for the missing manuscript of Dai's partial translation

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without success.

<sup>9</sup>Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.

<sup>10</sup>Mu Shiyong 穆时英 (1912-1939) had a long association with Dai and Shi Zhecun. His first story was published in *Xin wenyi* and he later assisted in the editing of *Xiandai*. He worked as editor of a pro-Japanese, peace movement (collaborationist) newspaper *Guomin xinwen* 《国民新闻》 in 1939, and as a result he was shot dead on 29 June 1939, while riding in a rickshaw. The execution was carried out by Shanghai 'underground' workers who took him for a traitor. But, as Edward Gunn has recounted in his book *Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937-1945* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1980), "Mu Shiyong's reputation has since been cleared in an article that reveals he joined the peace movement for a Nationalist agent in Hong Kong" (p. 277), referring to an article by Kang Yi in *Zhanggu* (H.K.) no. 14 (October 1972), pp. 48-50.

Tang Tao (Interview with Tang Tao, Peking, 11 April 1983) also affirms his belief in the innocence of Mu Shiyong.

<sup>11</sup>Dai Wangshu, trans. and comp., *Xibanya duan pian xiaoshuo* 《西班牙短篇小说》 (Shanghai: Shangwu 商务, 1936). Alas (1852-1901) and Alarcón (1833-1891) were great novelists in the nineteenth-century tradition; Alas has been compared to Dickens. Ayala and Azorin were both celebrated Spanish fiction writers while Unamuno is perhaps better known for his poetry; all three were ambassadors of the Spanish Republican Government to: the United Kingdom, Argentina and Portugal respectively.

Paul Charles Joseph Bourget (1852-1935), French literary critic and novelist, his most famous novel is *Le disciple* [The disciple], concerned with erotic psychology, translated by Dai Wangshu as *Dizi* 《弟子》 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1936). In 1901 he became a Catholic and increasingly conservative in outlook, sympathizing with the extreme right-wing 'Action française'.

<sup>12</sup>Bian Zhilin (Interview with Bian Zhilin, Peking, 26 March 1983) claims that his position as co-editor was "only nominal" and seemed anxious to emphasize the point.

<sup>13</sup>'Zeng Kemu' 赠木 (For Kemu), 'Yan' 眼 (Eyes), and 'Ye e' 夜蛾 (Moth) appeared in *Xinshi* 1 (1936-37), 46-48; 192-195 and 423 respectively. 'Jimo' 寂寞 (Solitude) and 'Wo sixiang' 我思想 (I think) appeared in *Wenxue zazhi* 《文学杂志》 1,1 (May 1937) and 'Xiao qu' 小曲

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小曲 (A little tune) in *Dagongbao* «大公报», 26 June 1937.

<sup>14</sup> *Xinshi* 1, 1 (October 1936) contains a considerable amount of material on Supervielle: a write-up of Dai Wangshu's interview with him, pp. 112-123; a translated article dealing with Supervielle with a number of poems included, pp. 102-111; and Supervielle's own selection of poetry translated by Dai, pp. 91-101.

Supervielle (1884, Montevideo-1960, Paris), a French poet unlike other modern French poets, his influences come almost exclusively from Spanish America where he spent much of his life. His poetry is marked by bizarre metaphors and a powerful simplicity of language. His most famous collections are *Le forçat innocent* (1930), *Gravitations* (1925) and *Les amis inconnus* (1934). Although there are hints of Surrealism in his poetry, the poet himself always denied them. It is possible that Dai Wangshu was influenced in his later verse by this trace of Surrealism in Supervielle, but there are few other points of similarity between the two, moreover although Supervielle deals with the 'mysterious' in his poems, his poetry is clear and intelligible and he lacks the pessimism to be found in other French poets and in Dai Wangshu's work.

<sup>15</sup> Jules Supervielle, *Le forçat innocent* (Paris: Gallimard, 1930; 1978), p. 102.

<sup>16</sup> Dai Wangshu, trans., "Shali'nasi shichao" 沙里纳思诗钞 [A selection of Salinas' poems], *Xinshi* 1 (1936), 212-217.

Pedro Salinas (1891-1951), like Dai Wangshu, a great exploiter of the theme of love, his poetry nevertheless broke new ground in saying so much with so little: no rhyme, no allusions, irregular metre, scarce metaphor and simple phrases. His is the poetry of wholesome, uncomplicated love. After the Civil War he lived in exile in the U.S.A. where nostalgia and ill-health brought a tone of pessimism and disillusionment to his later poetry.

<sup>17</sup> Shi Zhecun in correspondence.

<sup>18</sup> *Xinshi* 1 (1937), 574-579.

<sup>19</sup> *Xiandai Tuerqi zhengzhi* «现代土耳其政治», trans. Dai Wangshu (Shanghai: Shangwu 商务, 1937).

<sup>20</sup> Dai Wangshu, trans., "Aertuolalilei shichao" 阿尔陀拉季雷诗钞 [A selection of Altolaguirre's poetry], *Xinshi* 1 (1937), 685-89. Born in 1905, Altola-

guirre was a neo-Gongorist. [Gongora was a master of the elaborate metaphor which he used to great effect in his sixteenth and seventeenth-century verse which was a reaction against Renaissance poetry. Neglected in the nineteenth-century, he had a great influence on Lorca, Altolaguirre and others, who found an inspiration for their reaction in his work, in the twentieth-century.] Like Salinas, Altolaguirre's principal theme was love. A Republican supporter, after the war he was killed in a car accident on his first post-war visit to Spain in 1959.

21

Dai Wangshu, *Wangshu shigao* 《望舒诗稿》 (Shanghai: Zazhi gongsi 杂志公司, 1937). *Cahiers du Sud*, see appendix 4.

22

Editorial, "The Book Street of Shanghai", *The China Critic* 19, 7 (18 November 1937), p. 1.

23

Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.

24

*Ibid.*

25

For the period 1939-1941, and especially with regard to Dai's Resistance activities within Hong Kong literary organizations, I have relied on three main sources: 1) Lu Weiluan 盧緯鑒, "Xianggang (1936-1941) wenyijie jinian Lu Xun de huodong", 香港 (1936-1941) 文艺界纪念鲁迅的活动, *Dousou* 《抖擞》, no. 46 (September 1981), pp. 38-45. Miss Lu, lecturer in Chinese at the Chinese University of Hong Kong is engaged in researching and preparing a chronology of the activities of all major writers engaged in resistance in Hong Kong from 1938 to 1941, this she does by working through Hong Kong's newspaper archives; 2) An unpublished skeleton chronology of Dai's activities while in Hong Kong during this period, written up by Miss Lu for Shi Zhecun who passed it on to me, (for convenience I have referred to this document as Shi/Lu; 3) the author's own research in the newspaper archives of Hong Kong City Library and Hong Kong University Library in 1982.

All the facts found in Hong Kong newspapers by Miss Lu which I checked were accurate. She has subsequently published "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang", *Xianggang wenxue* 《香港文学》, no. 2 (1985), pp. 11-17, a short article, which contains most of the information from the above mentioned chronology.

26

*Dousou*, no. 46, p. 41, note 25.

27

The newspaper is kept on microfilm at the City Hall Library, Hong Kong.

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<sup>28</sup> *Zainan de sui yue*, p. 38.

<sup>29</sup> *Xingdao ribao* 《*星岛日报*》, 1 January 1939, p. 8. See also appendix 3 for revision.

<sup>30</sup> "Si les questions sociales occupent aujourd'hui ma pensée, c'est aussi que le démon créateur s'en retire. Ces questions n'occupent la place que l'autre ne l'ait déjà cédée (If social questions occupy my thought today, this is partly because the creative demon is withdrawing from it. Such questions do not take over the field until the other has already surrendered it) (Gide, *Journal*, p. 1139). Thus Gide in July 1932, in December he wrote:

"Que l'art et la littérature n'aient que faire des questions sociales, et ne puissent, s'ils s'y aventurent, que se fourvoyer, j'en demeure à peu près convaincu. Et c'est bien aussi pourquoi je me tais depuis que ces questions ont pris le pas dans mon esprit" (That art and literature have nothing to do with social questions and can only, if they venture into them, go astray, I remain almost convinced. And this is partly why I have been silent since such questions have become uppermost in my mind) (ibid., p. 1149).

The situation of the two writers is not strictly analogous as Dai was no longer involved in a battle with the Communist literary hierarchy as he had been in the early 1930s. He was now engaged in propaganda work against a foreign invader, not a social system. And yet it is more than likely that Dai found it difficult to 'bend' his art to 'utilitarian' ends, and like Gide, while willing to lend his name to the 'cause'—in this instance the anti-Japanese Resistance—could not at the same time write creatively.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 18 October 1982.

<sup>32</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Shi nian qian de Xingdao he Xingzuo" 十年前的《*星岛*》和《*星座*》, *Xingdao*, *Xingzuo*, 1 January, 1948.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Du Heng, "Faxisi de konghe" 法西斯恐怖, *Xingdao ribao*, 2 August 1938, p. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Shi Zhecun, "Xin wenxue yu jiu xingshi" 新文学与旧形式, *Xingdao ribao*, 9 August 1938; idem, "Zai tan xin wenxue yu jiu xingshi" 再谈新文学与旧形式,

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ibid., 12 August 1938; Mu Shiyong, "Xue de yinian"  
血的忆念, ibid., 13 August 1938.

37 Dai Wangshu, "Shi nian qian de Xingdao he Xingzuo".

38 Ibid.

39 "The Hong Kong Branch of the All China Literary and Artistic Circles' Association\* ... was established in March." 中華全國文藝協進會香港分會... 在三月... 成立 (Lu, "Xianggang wenyijie jinian Lu Xun de huodong", p. 42). \*The term "協進會" has a connotation of 'association for advancement' but since most of the titles of these organizations are cumbersome enough anyway, 'association' has been used throughout.

According to Shi/Lu, Dai was made responsible for the propaganda section in March 1939 and for 'research' and foreign literature sections in May 1939.

40 According to a conversation with Miss Lu in Hong Kong, October 1982.

41 Shi/Lu.

42 The Chinese Periodicals Section of Hong Kong University has this magazine catalogued, but unfortunately the volume is 'missing'.

43 "The two literary-artistic bodies representing the two big battalions of left and right: the 'All China Literary and Artistic Circles' Association' ... and the 'Chinese Cultural Association' were established in March and September respectively" 代表左右翼兩大陣營的兩文藝團體: "中華全國文藝界協進會" ... 及 "中國文化協進會" 分別在3月, 9月成立 (Lu, "Xianggang wenyijie jinian Lu Xun de huodong", p. 42).

44 Shi/Lu.

45 Lu Weiluan, "Mao Dun 1938 nian zhi 1942 nian jian zai Xianggang de huodong" 茅盾 1938 年至 1942 年間的香港活動, *Dousou*, no. 50 (July 1982), p. 61, note 33: "Starting in the middle of March the *Guomin ribao* [Nationalist daily] ... continuously pointed the finger at *Xingdao ribao*..., the slanging match between the two papers continued for several months" 自 1941 年 3 月中旬開始《國民日報》不斷針對《星島日報》... 兩報對戰持續多月。

46 Shi/Lu, which records that Dai participated in a joint committee, 聯誼會, of the two organizations.

47 *Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian*, Xiandai, part 2



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《中国文学家辞典》，现代，第二分册 (Chengdu: Renmin chubanshe, 1980), p. 109.

Feng Yidai 冯亦代, "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang" 戴望舒在香港, *Xin wenxue shiliao*, no. 4 (1980), p. 166, states that all this took place in the summer of 1940 when two issues were published. See also Feng Yidai in appendix 5.

<sup>48</sup> See Feng Yidai in appendix 5.

<sup>49</sup> Shi/Lu. Dai gave the second lecture in a series of evening classes, 讲习班, run by the 'Wenyi xiehui' 文艺协会 (中华全国文艺界协会).

<sup>50</sup> Feng Yidai, "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang", p. 166. Others who lectured include: Yang Gang 杨刚, Huang Sheng 黄绳, Huang Wenyu 黄文俞, and Feng Yidai.

<sup>51</sup> Shi/Lu.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> May be found in Hong Kong University Library, Chinese Periodicals Section.

<sup>54</sup> Feng Yidai, "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang", p. 166. Feng says he worked on the preparations the previous year, but his name does not appear in the list of society members which, according to data in the magazine itself, was responsible for its publication. The editor is given as Yu Feng 郁风; Dai's name appears last on the list: Ding Zong 丁聪, Xu Chi 徐迟, Huang Miaozi 黄苗子, Zhang Zhengyu 张正宇, Ye Qianyu 叶浅予, Yu Feng 郁风, Xia Yan 夏衍, Zhang Guangyu 张光宇, Ye Lingfeng 叶灵风, Dai Wangshu 戴望舒.

<sup>55</sup> Shi/Lu.

<sup>56</sup> Feng Yidai, "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang", p. 165.

<sup>57</sup> Shi/Lu.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> See note 43 above.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Jin Kemu, Peking, 6 April 1983.

<sup>61</sup> Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de suiyue*, pp. 42-45.

<sup>62</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Shi nian qian de Xingdao he Xingzuo".

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- <sup>63</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>64</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>65</sup>Shi Zhecun in correspondence.
- <sup>66</sup>Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de sui yue*, pp. 46-48.
- <sup>67</sup>Nicholas Wollaston, "The Attack of Asthma", London *Observer*, 8 February 1982.
- <sup>68</sup>"About 1500 a year die of it here [in England]" (ibid.).
- <sup>69</sup>Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.
- <sup>70</sup>Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de sui yue*, pp. 53-55.
- <sup>71</sup>According to Dai Wangshu, *Poèmes*, p. 143, he married Yang Lizhen 杨丽珍, also known as Yang Jing 杨静 whom Dai addressed as Liping 丽萍, on 9 February. However, according to Wu Xiaoling (Wu Xiaoling's Chronology), this is incorrect. Wu maintains that he married Yang Lizhen on 9 May and that Dai Yongxu was born on 24 September of the same year. The author raised this point with Miss Dai (Interview, Peking, 18 April 1983) who verified the dates.
- <sup>72</sup>Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de sui yue*, pp. 63, 64-71.
- <sup>73</sup>Interview with Feng Yidai, Peking, 18 April 1983. See appendix 5.
- <sup>74</sup>*Huaqiao ribao* «*华侨日报*» *Wenyi zhoukan* <文藝週刊> was consulted in Hong Kong University Library; unfortunately issues of the newspaper containing *Wenyi zhoukan*, nos. 6, 7, 30 and 35 are 'missing'.
- <sup>75</sup>Between February 1944 and May 1945 Dai translated the following authors in *Wenyi zhoukan* [the number of translations is given after each author's name]: Azorin, 6 (nos. 18, 21, 44, 46, 49, 62); Baudelaire, 3 (nos. 18, 55, 66); Gide, 2 (nos. 3 and 31); Jammes, 2 (nos. 8 and 13); Verhaeren, 2 (nos. 10 and 53); Apollinaire, 2 (52 and 68); Lorca, 1 (no. 56); Baroja, 1 (no. 27); Rimbaud 1 (no. 25).
- <sup>76</sup>Dai Wangshu, "Shilun ling zha" 诗论零札, *Huaqiao ribao*, *Wenyi zhoukan*, no. 2, 6 February 1944. The piece is reproduced in *Xianggang wenxue*, no. 2 (1985), p. 45.
- <sup>77</sup>*Huaqiao ribao*, *Wenyi zhoukan*, no. 14, 30

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April 1944. This was later included in Dai Wangshu, *Xiaoshuo xiqu lunji*, pp. 7-26. The article "Du Li Wa zhuan", is a valuable piece of scholarly research to this day; it was cited recently in Glen Dudbridge, *The Tale of Li Wa* (London: Ithaca Press, 1983).

<sup>78</sup> *Huaqiao ribao*, *Wenyi zhoukan*, no. 19, 4 June 1944; Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de suiyue*, pp. 72-80.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 33, 10 September 1944; *ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>80</sup> As the poem first appeared in the newspaper *Huaqiao ribao* on 10 September 1944, the date given in *Zainan de suiyue*, p. 83 and in Dai's Notebook (see appendix 3), 20 November 1944, is evidently the date of revision.

<sup>81</sup> Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de suiyue*, pp. 84-86.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>83</sup> *Huaqiao ribao*, *Wenyi zhoukan*, no. 72, 17 June 1945, was the last issue edited by Dai and Ye. The following issue, no. 73, 20 June 1945, carries a notice of a change of editorship; the new editor was Chen Junbao 陈君葆.

The two almost immediately produced *Riyao wenyi* <日曜文艺>, a literary supplement, for *Xiangdao ribao* <香港日报>. The one page newspaper devoted twenty-five per cent of its space to the literary supplement every Sunday. Unfortunately Hong Kong University Library's collection of this newspaper runs only to 30 August 1945; no. 8, 19 August 1945, is also 'missing'.

<sup>84</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Bali de shutan" 巴黎的抒怀, *Xiangdao ribao*, *Riyao Wenyi*, nos. 4 and 5, 22 and 29 July 1945. The article has been reprinted in *Xianggang wenxue*, no. 2 (1985), pp. 37-39.

<sup>85</sup> Dai Wangshu, "Shan ju zazhui" 山居杂缀, *Xiangdao ribao*, *Riyao wenyi*, no. 2, 8 July 1945. The piece has been reprinted in *Xianggang wenxue*, no. 2 (1985), p. 36.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.

<sup>88</sup> Xiao Yingshen, "Shiren Dai Wangshu", p. 100; Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.

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<sup>89</sup>Feng Yidai, "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang", p. 167 and interview with Feng Yidai.

<sup>90</sup>Interview with Feng Yidai.

<sup>91</sup>Gu Zuhong 顾祖洪 letter to the author, 1980. Gu Zuhong, pen-name: 罗荻 Luo Di, now resides in Tianjin, where he works as a translator.

Dai's translation of *Les Fleurs du Mal* was published in 1947, see note 93 below.

92

Dai Wangshu, trans. and comp., "Ailuya shi-chao" 爱吕亚诗钞, *Xinshi chao* 《新诗钞》, no. 1 (January 1948). A selection of Eluard's poems taken from *Au rendez-vous allemand*.

According to Wu Xiaoling's Chronology, Dai also translated Sartre's *Le mur*.

<sup>93</sup>Botelaier 波特莱尔 [Baudelaire], *Ezhihua duoying* 《恶之花撷英》 [Petals from the Flowers of Evil], trans. Dai Wangshu, (Shanghai: *Huazheng wenhua she* 怀正文化社, 1947).

<sup>94</sup>Feng Yidai "Dai Wangshu zai Xianggang", p. 167 and Gu Zuhong, letter, (1980).

<sup>95</sup>Dai Wangshu, *Zainan de suiyue* 《灾难的岁月》 (Shanghai: *Xingqun chubanshe* 星群出版社, February 1948).

<sup>96</sup>Gu Zuhong, letter, (1980); Wu Xiaoling's Chronology, according to which a warrant was issued for Dai's arrest.

<sup>97</sup>Interview with Shi Zhecun, 16 October 1982.

<sup>98</sup>Shen Songquan 沈松泉, "Dai Wangshu dao Jing nian yue" 戴望舒到京年月, *Dushu*, no. 3 (1983), p. 133: "我在天津下车, 望舒和他的女儿则直去北京."

<sup>99</sup>Bian Zhilin 卞之琳, "Dai Wangshu" 戴望舒, *Renmin ribao* 《人民日报》, 5 March 1950, p. 5.

Further information about this voyage and arrival in Peking is given in Dai Wangshu's letter to his wife (1), see appendix 2.

<sup>100</sup>Interviews with Luo Dagang and Feng Yidai.

<sup>101</sup>Letters to wife, see appendix 2.

<sup>102</sup>Conversation with Liu Zunqi 刘尊棋, now editor-in-chief of the English language *Peking China Daily*, whom the author met by chance at a reception given for Mrs. Thatcher at the British Embassy, Peking,

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September 1982.

See also: Interview with Feng Yidai and Dai Yongxu, Peking, 18 April 1983. Dai's daughter remembers the day, she was playing outside when her grand-mother called her in to the house. Feng Yidai received a telephone call and rushed round to Dai's house, but found him to be already dead.

Further, see letter from Dai's mother to her daughter (appendix 2), in which details of the poet's death and funeral arrangements are given.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Jin Kemu, Peking, 6 April 1983, who says that Dai injected ephedrine rather than take it orally as is usually the case.

Bian Zhilin, "Dao Wangshu".

<sup>104</sup> Interview with Feng Yidai.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup> Frank Kermode, *Modern Essays* (London: Collins, Fontana Books, 1971), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, Shanghai, 19 October 1982.

<sup>5</sup> Cyril Connolly, *The Movement, 100 Key Books from England, France and America, 1880-1950* (London: Deutsch and Hamish Hamilton, 1965); Kermode, pp. 41-44.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Faulkner, *Modernism, The Critical Idiom*, no. 35 (London and New York: Methuen, 1977).

<sup>7</sup> Malcolm Bradbury and James Mc Farlane, eds., *Modernism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, Pelican Books, 1976).

<sup>8</sup> For a comprehensive introduction to these poets and their work see: Vicente Gaos, ed., *Antología del grupo poético de 1927* (Madrid: Cátedra, 1981).

<sup>9</sup> Herbert Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 19-20.

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<sup>11</sup>Bradbury and McFarlane, p. 28.

<sup>12</sup>Kermode, p. 65.

<sup>13</sup>Read, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup>Bradbury and Mc Farlane, p. 28.

<sup>15</sup>Allan Rodway, review of *A Genealogy of Modernism: a study of English literary doctrine 1908-1922*, by Michael H. Levenson, in *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 5 October 1984, p. 17.

But although there are differences between Imagism and Symbolism, perhaps the greatest English Modernist poet, T.S. Eliot drew to a large extent on the French Symbolist heritage:

I have advertised my source I think ; it's Arthur Symon's book on French poetry...

I liked his quotations and I went to a foreign bookshop somewhere in Boston...

which specialized in French and German and other foreign books and found Laforgue, and other poets( *Writers at Work, The Paris Review Interviews, Second Series*, edited by George Plimpton, ( Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983).

Jules Laforgue was, of course, heavily influenced by Baudelaire.

<sup>16</sup>Read, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup>Victor Brombert, review of *The French Romantics*, edited by D.G. Charlton, in *Times Literary Supplement*, 4 January 1985, pp. 15-16.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup>Interview with Shi Zhecun, 19 October 1982.

<sup>20</sup>Bradbury and McFarlane, p. 26.

<sup>21</sup>David Lodge, *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 124.

Lodge is a novelist and critic who has attempted to apply the concepts and methods of formalist structuralism and in particular of Jakobson. Lodge is not interested by the ideological criticism of Foucault, Lacan and Derrida, which he terms post-structuralist.

His main critical tool has been borrowed from Jakobson; that is, the metonymy-metaphor distinction. He explains it thus:

## Note to Page 137

"Selection involves the perception of similarity and it implies the possibility of substitution. It is therefore the process by which metaphor is generated, for metaphor is substitution based on a certain kind of similarity. If I change the sentence, 'Ships crossed the sea' to 'Ships *ploughed* the sea', I have substituted *ploughed* for *crossed*, having perceived a similarity between the movement of a plough through the earth and a ship through the sea. Note, however, that the awareness of *difference* is not suppressed: it is indeed essential to the metaphor.

.....

Metonymy is a much less familiar term than metaphor, at least in Anglo-American criticism....Metonymy is closely associated with synecdoche....The hackneyed lines, 'The hand that rocks the cradle/ Is the hand that rules the world' include both tropes—the synecdoche 'hand' meaning 'person' (by inference, 'mother') and the metonymy 'cradle' meaning 'child'. In Jakobson's scheme, metonymy includes synecdoche....

Metonymy and synecdoche seem to involve, like metaphor, the substitution of one term for another....Jakobson, however argues that metaphor and metonymy are *opposed*, because they are generated according to opposite principles...[resting] on the basic opposition of selection and combination.

[Lodge summarizes Jakobson's pairings of opposites as follows:]

METAPHOR	METONYMY
Paradigm	Syntagm
Similarity	Contiguity
Selection	Combination
Substitution	[Deletion] Contexture
Contiguity Disorder	Similarity Disorder
Contexture Deficiency	Selection Deficiency
Drama	Film
Montage	Close-up
Dream symbolism	Dream
Surrealism	Cubism
Imitative Magic	Contagious Magic
Poetry	Prose
Lyric	Epic
Romanticism & Symbolism	Realism "
(Ibid., pp.75-77, 81).	

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In Lodge's hands Jakobson's theory is used to investigate modern literature. To this end he concentrates on the metaphor-metonymy distinction of Symbolism and Realism. As Lodge develops his thesis metonymy becomes increasingly synonymous with Realism and anti-Modernism and metaphor with non-realistic modes of expression or irrealism, Modernism and Symbolism and what Lodge terms the Modernist-symbolist tradition. It is in this latter narrower sense that the author of the present work has employed these terms.

<sup>22</sup>Lodge, p. 138.

<sup>23</sup>For instance see Dai's poem 'Zeng Kemu' in *Zainan de suiyue*, pp. 22-25.

<sup>24</sup>Lodge, p. 138, quoting Virginia Woolf, 'Modern Fiction', *Collected Essays II*, p. 106.

<sup>25</sup>Richard Ellman and Charles Feidelson, eds., *The Modern Tradition: Backgrounds of Modern Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 111-112, quoting Mallarmé.

<sup>26</sup>Dai Wangshu, "Shilun lingzha" 詩論零札 [Fragments of opinions on poetry], *Xiandai* 2 (1932), pp. 92-94; reprinted in *Wangshu cao*, pp. 112-115 and in *Dai Wangshu shiji* (Chengdu: Renmin chubanshe 1981), pp. 161-165.

<sup>27</sup>Dai Wangshu, "Shilun lingzha" 詩論零札, *Huaqiao ribao*, *Wenyi zhoukan*, no. 2, 6 February 1944. [A new article although having same title as that noted above, note 26]

<sup>28</sup>Guy Michaud, *Mallarmé*, trans. Marie Collins and Bertha Humez (London: Peter Owen, 1966), p. 108, and quoting Marice Barrès, writing in *Les Tâches d'Encre* [Inkspots], 5 December 1884.

<sup>29</sup>Lodge, p. 157.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>32</sup>Dai Wangshu, "Shilun lingzha", *Xiandai* 2 (1932), p. 93, point 14.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 92, point 2; Lodge, p. 194.

<sup>34</sup>Kermode, p. 65.

<sup>35</sup>Brombert, p. 16.



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<sup>36</sup> Kermode, p. 45, quoting Alex Preminger, ed., *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965).

<sup>37</sup> Kermode, p. 45.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

[*Wo de ji yi*: hereafter cited as WDJY.]

<sup>1</sup> Du Heng, Preface to *Wangshucao*, pp. 1-10, where Du Heng relates that Dai Wangshu asked him to write the preface and prepare the volume for publication.

<sup>2</sup> *Yingluo xunkan*, see Chapter II, page 17 and note 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Mangyuan* 《莽原》 2 (1927), pp. 783-787.

<sup>4</sup> *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 19 (1928), pp. 979-982.

<sup>5</sup> Du Heng, Preface, pp. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> Que Guoqiu, 阙国虬, "Shilun Dai Wangshu shige de wailai yingxiang yu duchuangxing" 试论戴望舒诗歌的外来影响与独创性, *Wenxue pinglun* 《文学评论》, no. 4 (1983), pp. 31-41.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32 and *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 592.

<sup>8</sup> Shaduoboyiang 沙多勃易昂 [F.R. de Chateaubriand], *Shaonü zhi shi* 《少女之誓》, trans. Dai Wangshu (Shanghai: Kaiming shudian 开明书店, September, 1928).

Dai's translation is of two stories by Chateaubriand (1768-1848): *Atala* (1801) and *René* (1802), published together in 1805. René appears in both episodes, as a melancholy youth who has fled Europe for Louisiana in 1725, and to whom an Indian sage tells the sad tale of his love for Atala. Living among the Indians he is obliged to take a wife but prefers solitude, and his melancholy nature constantly draws him away into the woods. A young aristocrat, he is marked by sadness and dedicated to a life of melancholy.

A work which Chateaubriand had written, according to its preface, in order to denounce the moral malaise of the times—attributed to the influence of Rousseau—it condemns pessimism and solitude as un-Christian. Ironically, with the fall of the Empire, René became the model of a great number of the younger

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generation. He remains a symbol of the condition of the Romantic soul.

<sup>9</sup>Weiming, 1 (1928) pp. 127-128, 159-160. For the originals see: Paul Fort, *Edition définitive des Ballades Françaises*, Vol. 1 (Paris, n.p., 1922), pp. 68-70.

<sup>10</sup>Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.

<sup>11</sup>Interview with Shi Zhecun, Shanghai, 18 October, 1982 and Shi Zhecun, Preface to *Dai Wangshu yishiji* 《戴望舒诗集》 (Changsha: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 1983), pp. 1-3.

Ernest Dowson (1867-1900), English Symbolist, imitator of Verlaine, friend of Oscar Wilde, nowadays neglected.

<sup>12</sup>D. Stanford, *Three Poets of the Rhymers' Club* (Cheadle Hulme: Carcanet Press, 1974), p. 14.

<sup>13</sup>WDJY, pp. 17-18. First published in *Yingluo*, no. 1 (17 March 1926), pp. 4-5.

Varr. *Yingluo*. 12: 前行. 13: 我胸膛怀里. 14: 从此又失 —.

<sup>14</sup>Stanford, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup>WDJY, pp. 14-15. First published in *Yingluo*, no. 2 (27 March 1926), p. 11.

Varr. *Yingluo*. 1: 残月像已 —. 4: 蝙蝠在 —. 11: 是颤动 —.

<sup>16</sup>*Wangshu shigao* and *Dai Wangshu shiji*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>17</sup>Interview with Bian Zhilin, Peking, 26 March 1983. According to Bian Dai did not count *de* as a syllable for the purposes of line length. Bian also states that Dai's early rhymes were in his native dialect; see also appendix 5 for rhymes in dialect.

<sup>18</sup>Dai Wangshu, "Shilun lingzha", point 7.

<sup>19</sup>See, for instance, 'Huile xinr ba' 回心儿吧 (Change your mind): line 1: 回心儿吧, *ma chère ennemie*; line 7: *Aime un peu!*; line 10: *Un peu d'amour, pour moi, c'est déjà trop!* (WDJY, pp. 36-37).

<sup>20</sup>Du Heng, Preface, p. 9: "一九二七年夏某月 ... 那时候大概雨巷写成不久 (The Summer of 1927...probably not long after 'Rainy alley' had been written...).

<sup>21</sup>*Xiaoshuo yuebao* 19 (1928), pp. 979-982.

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<sup>22</sup>WDJY, pp. 46-48.

<sup>23</sup>Julia Lin, *Modern Chinese Poetry: An Introduction* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), p.166

<sup>24</sup>Loi, *Poètes chinois*. p. 85.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.; Francis Carco, French poet and novelist, (1886-1958). Famous for his novels about criminals, pimps and prostitutes in Montmartre.

<sup>26</sup>*Wenyi fengjing* 《文艺风》, no. 1 (June 1934), p. 30.

<sup>27</sup>Verlaine, *Selected Poems* (Harmondworth: Penguin Books, 1974):

"Je fais souvent ce rêve étrange et  
pénétrant  
D'une femme inconnue..."  
[I often have this strange impressive  
dream  
About an unknown woman...]  
(*Mon rêve familier* (1866)).

<sup>28</sup>Que Guoqiu, pp. 33-34. Que's argument in this instance is unconvincing. It is based on the assumption that the auditory effects of the repetition of the sound 'ou' in the word *tournez* (in Verlaine's 'Tournez, tournez bons chevaux de bois') is reflected in the repeated use of the sound '-ang' in 'Rainy alley'. But this kind of repetition is unusual in Verlaine's poetry while Dai had frequently used the '-eng' rhyme in previous poems. If there is a case for Verlaine's influence in 'Rainy alley', it is doubtful whether Que's evidence is sufficient or appropriate. Moreover, there is no reason to assume, as does Que (p. 34), that Dai's acquaintance with Jammes and Fort post-dates the composition of 'Rainy alley'; Du Heng, Preface, p. 6, states otherwise.

<sup>29</sup>Du Heng, Preface; Shi Zhecun, Preface to *Dai Wangshu yishiji*, pp. 3-4. Shi believes there to be a strong correlation between Dai's translation work and his own creative literary output in each phase of his life (望舒译诗的过程正是他创作诗的过程...). Shi further asserts that the period during which he wrote 'Rainy alley' was also the period in which he was interested in reading and translating Verlaine and Dowson; in the collection prefaced by Shi, there are three poems by Ernest Dowson. Dai had collaborated with Du Heng in the translation of Dowson's poems and Shi is consequently only able to attribute three to Dai with any certainty. There are however several other poems by Dowson translated by Dai ( "Daosheng

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shichao"道生詩抄 [A selection of Dowson's poems], trans. Dai Wangshu, *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), pp. 439-441) but the date of translation of these poems, and of the poems presented in Shi's collection, is unknown.

The fact that Du Heng co-translated Dowson, would seem to put him in a better position from which to assess when and if Dai was under Dowson's influence, and yet in his Preface, written fifty years before Shi Zhecun's, he lays no stress on Dai's acquaintance with Dowson's poetry as a factor in Dai's creativity during the 'Rainy alley' period; Verlaine, Jammes and Fort however are mentioned for the period 1925-1926.

<sup>30</sup>Michelle Loi, while recognizing that 'lilac' is not necessarily symptomatic of melancholy in traditional Chinese literature, maintains that 'Rainy alley' owes more to classical Chinese tales (not to poetry for which there is a case) than to any Western influence. In particular, and not altogether understandably, she dismisses the possibility of the influence of Francis Jammes:

Donc; si les lilas des anciens poètes chinois sont des fleurs des moins mélancoliques...Dai Wangshu pourrait être considéré comme l'auteur d'un véritable occidentalisme avec cette *Allée sous la pluie*....Il est vrai qu'il y a à cela quelque raison, mais je pense...à ce que fut mon premier sentiment...*je n'ai pas pensé à Jammes ni à ses lilas*....La jeune fille évanescence...ressemblait, beaucoup, "sous son parapluie de papier huilé" à quelqu'une de ces immortelles des contes chinois....Je n'ai pas vraiment changé d'avis" (So then, if the lilac is one of the least melancholic flowers for the ancient Chinese poets...Dai Wangshu could be considered, with his 'Rainy alley', as the creator of an authentic Western style....It is true that there are some grounds for that, but I come back to my initial feeling.... *I didn't think of Jammes nor of his lilacs*....the evanescent girl "under her oil-paper umbrella" was very reminiscent of one of those immortals out of a Chinese tale....I have not really changed my mind) [*Italics mine*](Michelle Loi, *Roseaux sur le mur: Les poètes occidentalistes chinois 1919-1949*(Paris: Gallimard, 1971)).

However Dr. Loi prefers to see the heroine of 'Rainy alley', the fact remains that a close reading of Jammes' poetry furnishes firm evidence that Dai drew on the French poet as a source of inspiration. He may have been thinking of women immortals from ancient Chinese tales but there is no documentary or textual

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evidence to support such a contention.

<sup>31</sup> A selection of Jammes poetry translated by Dai as *Yemai shichao* «耶麥詩抄» appeared in *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), 67-75.

Jammes is today seen a neo-Symbolist poet inspired by Christianity, but in fact the majority of his poetry predates his conversion (1906) to Catholicism. His poetry is marked, like that of his predecessors, by 'inwardness' but has a more peaceful quality and is often refreshing in its simplicity. This is not to say that the devices and moods of the Symbolists are not present in his work, however. Shunning the literary circles of Paris he took pleasure in a quiet village life and there is in his work a certain pantheistic romanticism.

His major works are: *De l'Angelus de l'aube à l'Angelus du soir 1888-1897* (1897); *Clairières dans le Ciel 1902-1906* (1906). The following editions have been consulted: Francis Jammes, *De l'Angelus de l'aube à l'Angelus du soir*; préface de Jacques Borel (Paris: Gallimard, 1971); *Clairières dans le Ciel*, préface de Michel Décaudin (Paris: Gallimard, 1980); *Choir de poésies* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1970).

<sup>32</sup> Jammes, *Clairières*, p. 50.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-56.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>38</sup> Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 34.

<sup>39</sup> Idem, *Clairières*, p. 40.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>41</sup> Jacques Borel, Preface to *De l'Angelus*, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Bian Zhilin, Preface to *Dai Wangshu shiji*, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> Interview with Bian Zhilin.

<sup>44</sup> The line is to be found as the third poem in *Er zhu ci* «二主词» [Lyrics of the two lords], *Su-xiangshi congshu* 粟香室丛书, *Mingjia ciji* «名家词集»

(n.p.), p. 1. The poem is entitled 'Huan xi sha' 浣溪沙.

In Bian Zhilin's Preface to *Dai Wangshu shiji*, the line was misquoted as: ... 丁香能.... This was pointed out in conversation with the author.

Daniel Bryant, *Lytic Poets of the Southern T'ang* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1982), p. 63, translates the line thus: "Wisteria blossoms knot my sorrow in the rain to no avail." The translation of 'ding xiang' 丁香 as 'wisteria' is puzzling; the colours of wisteria and lilac are, of course, similar.

<sup>45</sup> Bryant, p. xv:

"Most of the thirty odd poems in it [Lytic poems of the two lords of Southern Tang] are the work of Li Yü (937-78; r. 961-75) ... but the first four are by his father Li Ching (916; r. 943-61)."

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> James J.Y. Liu, *The Poetry of Li Shang-yin: Ninth-Century Baroque Chinese Poet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), p. 140.

<sup>48</sup> Zhu Hongling and Shen Houshuang 朱鹤龄, 沈厚瑛, *Li Yishan shiji* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1978), 卷下, p. 21.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 卷上, p. 77.

<sup>50</sup> Wolfgang Kubin, "Tai Wangshu (1905-1950) Ästhetizismus und Entsagung: Ein Beitrag zur modernen chinesischen Dichtung vor 1949", in Link, Leimbögl, Kubin, eds., *China, Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft (Festschrift für Alfred Hoffmann zum 65. Geburtstag)* (Tübingen: Horst Verlag, 1976), p. 76.

<sup>51</sup> A.E. Cherkassky, *Novaya kitayskaya poeziya* / A. E. Черкасский, *Новая китайская поэзия (20-30-е годы)* / [New Chinese poetry] (Moscow: Nauka, 1972), p. 331.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 331-332.

<sup>53</sup> For instance, Guo Moruo 郭沫若 in his early verse, made extensive use of foreign words and allusions. In the long poem 'Chen an' 晨安, Guo makes numerous references to foreign artists, place names and common words and phrases several of which appear in the foreign language: Bengal, Pantheon, Mésamé. In his descriptive poem of the early morning in Shanghai: 'Shanghai de qingchen' 上海的清晨, he uses the word 'gasoline'. Many of the foreign words and phrases

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employed by Dai have a similar purpose: to give the effect of modernity and to indicate a total break with past tradition. Of course, the effect was often achieved at the expense of intelligibility.

<sup>54</sup>After the publication of WDJY Dai was obliged to respond to a reader's letter to the literary magazine *Xin wenyi* (1 (November 1929), pp. 597-598). While praising the collection of poetry, the reader was anxious to know the meaning of the foreign intrusions. Dai dutifully replied, but it was probably a salutary lesson in the incomprehensibility of French to the vast majority of the Chinese reading public; which was in any case not large.

<sup>55</sup>Compare WDJY with the volume consisting mainly of previously published poems: *Wangshu shigao*, in which all words in French have been deleted in favour of Chinese. For example, 'Fragments' and 'Mandoline' become 'Duanzhang' 断章 and 'Wen mantuo-ling' 闻曼陀铃 respectively.

<sup>56</sup>Tibullus I, i. 59-60. The quotation which occurs on page 4 of WDJY is probably best known to the Western reader as the words spoken by Dr. Johnson on his death-bed to Mr. Langton. See: R.W. Chapman, ed., *Selections from Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), p. 192.

<sup>57</sup>Philip Dunlop, trans., *Tibullus: Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972), p. 63.

<sup>58</sup>Interview with Shi Zhecun, 18 October 1982.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>In *Dai Wangshu shiji* (Chengdu, 1981) this poem has been incorrectly assigned to the first section ("Jiu jinnang") of WDJY. There are quite a number of errors of this sort, some but not all of which were corrected in the third impression of the book.

<sup>61</sup>WDJY, pp. 36-37.

<sup>62</sup>Dai Wangshu in *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 598, gives the source for *Ma chère ennemie* as Ronsard, the sixteenth-century French poet.

<sup>63</sup>Zhu Xiang, "Tongxin", *Xin wenyi* 1, 3 (1929), pp. 551.

<sup>64</sup>WDJY, p. 43.

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<sup>65</sup>Cherkassky, p. 339. To suspect an allusion is justifiable, but Cherkassky seems to have overstated the case in saying that Dai has "conserved [the line] almost unchanged / "...сохранил почти в неизменном виде "/. Nor is Dai's 'Spleen' "a pure and simple imitation" / "...подражание стихам Верлена того названия" / of "Verlaine".

Despite the apparent similarity to Verlaine's poem, Dai's line "Now I've come to hate the sight of the rose" bears just as much resemblance, if not more, to a line of Jammes' in the poem 'Les roses du jardin sont sages!':

C'est pourquoi je contemple avec l'amertume  
les doux petits rosiers...

(*Clairières*, p. 134).

[That is why I think with bitterness of the  
sweet little rose bushes...]

Jammes' lines perhaps more accurately reflect the spirit of Dai's 'Spleen'; an atmosphere of sadness emanates from both poems and as Cherkassky has noted there is an association of sadness in Dai's flower imagery:

"В стихах Дай Ван-шу цветы редко  
благоухают и редко радуют взор"  
(In the poetry of Dai Wangshu  
flowers are rarely fragrant and  
rarely pleasing to the eye)(Cherkassky, p. 333).

<sup>66</sup>WDJY, p. 38.

<sup>67</sup>The poem was first published as number 2 in the sequence of poems entitled "Aquarelles" (Water-colours) in *Romances sans paroles* (1874). The poem in its entirety is as follows:

Les roses étaient toutes rouges,  
Et les lierres étaient tout noirs.

Chère, pour peu que tu bouges,  
Renaissent tous mes désespoirs.

Le ciel était trop bleu, trop tendre,  
La mer trop verte et l'air trop doux:

Je crains toujours, — ce qu'est d'attendre!  
Quelque fuite atroce de vous.

Du houx à la feuille vernie,  
Et du luisant buis je suis las,

Et de la campagne infinie  
Et de tout hors de vous, hélas!



Around were all the roses red,  
The ivy all around was black.

Too blue, too tender was the sky,  
The air too soft, too green the sea.

I am so tired of holly-sprays  
And weary of the bright box-tree.

Of all the endless country ways;  
Of everything alas! Save thee.

<sup>69</sup>See note 65 above.

<sup>70</sup>Du Heng, Preface to *Wangshu cao*, pp. 8-10:

就歌。  
單詩了  
簡對叛  
很始反  
較开地  
比經秋  
因已勇  
原「  
的優份  
老時成  
雨雨雨  
歡老樂  
喜雨音  
不成「  
己為認  
白在所  
舒他地  
望雲的

我就里代久他湮沒  
約下那替不在地是  
稿當在片後這樣約  
原我：妻之他那拜名  
張。鮮那惹」的題  
了說新的兩新茫牠了的  
拿樣常繙了以迷「句詩  
地這非情寫月「寫拜首  
殺他到被是个「氣的那  
勃」感金信几帳裏由的  
致作後更相在惆有向看  
失儻讀經教只「是樣武  
然的，己不。「他那終  
突然詩妻去作僅在」所。  
他照首第有所發現的他憶  
天你這的武舒「定記  
一「了句使望在脚一  
有看讀字竟的還我有然

<sup>71</sup>WDJY, pp. 53-56; first published in *Weiming* 2 (1929), pp. 19-21, where the second line of the WDJY version is missing.

<sup>72</sup>Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, ed. Enid Starkie (Oxford: Blackwell, 1980), p. 73.

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<sup>73</sup>Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup>*Xin wenyi* 1 (September 1929), p. 71; the translation appeared after the publication of 'Wo de jiyi' in *Weiming* 2 (January 1929).

<sup>75</sup>Geoffrey Brereton, *An Introduction to the French Poets: Villon to the Present Day* (London: Methuen, 1973), p. 18.

<sup>76</sup>WDJY, pp. 67-68.

<sup>77</sup>Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 67.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 236. Cherkassy, p. 236, has noted that the 'dead leaf' is one of Jammes' favoured images.

<sup>80</sup>Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 68.

<sup>81</sup>*Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 71.

<sup>82</sup>See Chapter 4, note 21 and Lodge, pp. 119-120, for a more detailed discussion of the terms used in this paragraph.

<sup>83</sup>While not noting the importance of 'memories' in Jammes' poetic scheme, Cherkassky has however remarked upon the "power of memories over man" in Dai's poetry, commenting that 'Wo de jiyi':

"добавляющие к характеристке китайских символистов новые и важные черты" (brings new and important traits to the characteristics of Chinese Symbolism) (Cherkassky, p. 334).

The importance of the power of memory to Modernist arts seems to be well established. Luis Buñuel (a Spanish film-maker whose work is far removed from the usual classification, according to Jakobson's scheme, of film as metonymic), has written in his *Memoirs*, that "...memory is what makes our lives. Life without memory is no life at all.... Our memory is our coherence, our feeling, even our action. Without it we are nothing...."

<sup>84</sup>Lodge, p. 157.

<sup>85</sup>Dai Wangshu, "Shilun lingzha", point 4.

<sup>86</sup>Lodge, p. 157.

<sup>87</sup>WDJY, pp. 63-64.

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88 「年海」两字... 典出法国十九世纪大诗人拉玛丁 (Lamartine), 是 l'océan des âges 的直译, 见其名诗「湖」(Le Lac) [The two words 'nian hai' ... come from the great French nineteenth-century poet Lamartine, they are a literal translation of l'océan des âges, see his famous poem *Le Lac*] (Dai Wangshu, *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 598).

89 Lamartine, *Méditations poétiques*, ed. Marius-François Guyard (Paris: Gallimard, 1981), pp. 64-66.

90 Ibid., p. 64.

91 Ibid.

Note also that in the *Wangshu cao* (pp. 11-13) version of 'Ye shi' (entitled simply 'Ye'), the last three lines differ as follows:

那帶去了別人的青春和愛的飄过的風,  
她也會帶去了我們的,  
然後絲絲地吹入凋謝了的薔薇花丛。

The last stanza would then translate:

"I fear the wind blowing past,  
That wind that has carried away  
the youth and love of others,  
It could carry off ours too,  
And then blow it in shreds through the  
the withered rose bushes.

Note once more the association of floral imagery with gloom and despair.

92 See appendix 2, Letter from Azorin, note.

93 WDJY, pp. 65-66.

94 Ibid., pp. 69-71.

95 Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 130.

96 WDJY, pp. 57-59.

97 Jammes, *Clairières*, pp. 113-114:

—— Mon amie, mon amie, écoutez les cerises  
chanter sur la pelouse chaude...

—— Non pas. Ce sont les reines-claude.

—— Mais non. C'est votre chaste robe  
sur le versant de la forêt  
où vous avez herborisé.

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[— Darling, darling, listen to the cherries  
singing on the warm lawn...  
— Not at all. It's the greengages.  
— But no. It's your chaste dress  
on the verge of the forest  
where you picked flowers to press.]

<sup>98</sup> Du Heng, Preface to *Wangshu cao*, p. 6.

*Wugui lieche*, no. 5 (1928), p. 285 and *Xin wen-yi* 1 (1930), p. 842. The translations differ slightly. The first lines of each are respectively:

我有些小小的青花，我有些比你的眼睛  
更灿烂的小小的青花。——给我 (Wugui lieche)

我有几朵小青花，我有几朵那比你的眼睛  
更灿烂的小青花。——给我吧！ (Xin wenyi)

The second translation is much closer to the original (see text, page 202), because of the more colloquial rendering. 'Lu shang de xiao yu', also, owes more to the second version:

——给我吧，姑娘，那朵...  
小小的小青花，...

<sup>99</sup> See note 98 above.

<sup>100</sup> Paul Fort, *Ballades Françaises*, Vol 1: *La ronde autour du monde*, p. 25.

Paul Fort (1872-1960), a prominent 'vers-libriste', which practitioners are often regarded as the central core of the Symbolist movement. Apart from his mammoth work *Les Ballades Françaises* (1897-1937), his chief merit lies in his rejection of traditional forms and the development of free verse to the point where it became rhythmical prose.

The new prosody attracted a large number of poets, less prominent than Fort; for instance, Rémy de Gourmont (1858-1915) whom (according to Du Heng, Preface to *Wangshu cao*, p. 6) Dai had read during 1925-26. Apart from, perhaps, influencing Dai's progress in form (for which Dai could have been equally indebted to Fort or Jammes), Gourmont seems to have had no discernible effect on Dai's poetry.

<sup>101</sup> WDJY, pp. 72-74.

<sup>102</sup> Lodge, pp. 116-117.

<sup>103</sup> Maeterlinck holds an important position in the Modernist-Symbolist tradition. He is discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>104</sup> Interview with Shi Zhecun, 19 October 1982.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[Wangshu cao: hereafter cited as WSC.]

<sup>1</sup> Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> WSC was published in August 1933, ten months after Dai had left Shanghai for France, by the *Xiandai shuju*.

<sup>3</sup> The seven poems selected from WDJY were: 'Wo de jiyi' 我的记忆; 'Lu shang de xiao yu' 路上的小语; 'Lin xia de xiao yu' 林下的小语; 'Ye' 夜; 'Duzi de shi-hou' 独白的时候; 'Qiu' 秋; 'Duiyu tian de huaixiang-bing' 对于天的怀乡病.

<sup>4</sup> Nadezhda Mandelstam, *Hope Abandoned*, trans. Max Hayward, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 439.

<sup>5</sup> WSC, pp. 23-24.

<sup>6</sup> *Xiandai* 1 (1932), p. 81.

<sup>7</sup> *Wenxue zhoubao* «文学週报» 7 (1929) p. 386, (Meitelinke 梅特林克 [Maeterlinck], 'Qi'an de shijian' 凄黯的时间 [Heures ternes]); p. 573 ('Dongri de xi-wang' 冬日的希望 [Désirs d'hiver]); both poems may be found in Maurice Maeterlinck, *Serres chaudes, Quinze Chansons, La Princesse Maleine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1983).

Maeterlinck (1862-1949) was a Belgian poet and a leading figure in the French Symbolist movement. He was a successful dramatist, in which capacity he attempted to transfer the mysticism of Symbolism onto the stage with misty and etiolated settings. His most famous poetic work is *Serres chaudes* (1889).

He was a great influence on Supervielle who took from him his juxtapositioning of bizarre and disparate images, while maintaining an intelligibility lacking in Maeterlinck.

Some of his characteristics which may have influenced Dai are his characters who are no more than symbolic figments (similar to the evanescent women of Jammes and Verlaine), his somnambulists in strange lands, and his enigmatic fantasies.

<sup>8</sup> Brereton, *Introduction to French Poets*, p. 241.

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<sup>9</sup>Franz Kuna, "The Janus-faced novel", in *Modernism*, eds., Bradbury and McFarlane, p. 447.

<sup>10</sup>Maeterlinck, *Serres chaudes*, p. 64-65.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 31-32.

<sup>12</sup>"Maeterlinck...exerted an influence — especially [on] Chekov, Strinberg and Yeats— wholly disproportionate to his own modest posthumous reputation."

<sup>13</sup>Lodge, p. 45.

<sup>14</sup>WSC, pp. 27-29; *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 286.

<sup>15</sup>WSC, pp. 25-26; *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 285.

<sup>16</sup>Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, pp. 42-43.

<sup>17</sup>WSC, pp. 32-34; *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 605: with title 'Shao nü' 少女.

<sup>18</sup>*Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 605.

<sup>19</sup>WSC, pp. 30-31; *Xin wenyi* 1 (1929), p. 604.

<sup>20</sup>WSC, pp. 40-43; *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 21 (1930), p. 955.

<sup>21</sup>WSC, pp. 44-45; *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 22 (1931), p. 295.

<sup>22</sup>The resonances are transformed into firm textual evidence when the 'Dan lianzhe' variants are revealed. Recalling Verlaine's 'Mon rêve familier' and its 'femme inconnue' are both Dai's and Jammes' heroines. To Verlaine she appears in a dream, but to Dai and Jammes she is usually an almost tangible yet still opaque woman. The 'unknown' beautiful woman is common to many French poets: Baudelaire, Carco, and above all Nerval who bequeathed so much to the Symbolists. The debt is made evident in the *Xiaoshuo yuebao* version, where line 5 reads:

"是一个我记不起的 belle inconnue 吗?"

<sup>23</sup>WSC, pp. 46-48; *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 22 (1931), p. 59.

<sup>24</sup>T.S.Eliot, 'Burnt Norton', *Collected Poems 1909-1962* (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p.189.

<sup>25</sup>WSC, pp. 53-55.

- <sup>26</sup> *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 22 (1931), p. 1280.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> See notes 32 and 33 below.
- <sup>29</sup> WSC, pp. 56-59; *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 22 (1931), p. 1279.
- <sup>30</sup> Loi, *Poètes chinois*, p. 103, note 1.
- <sup>31</sup> Ai Qing, "Wangshu de shi" 望舒的诗, in *Dai Wangshu shixuan* 戴望舒诗选 (Peking: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1957); reproduced in *Dai Wangshu shiji* (1981), p. 4.
- <sup>32</sup> Fan Ni 凡尼, "Dai Wangshu shizuo shilun" 戴望舒诗作试论, *Wenxue pinglun* 文学评论 no. 4 (1980), p. 84.
- <sup>33</sup> Kang Yongqiu 康咏秋, in an open letter to Fan Ni, *Wenxue pinglun*, no. 1 (1981), p. 138.
- <sup>34</sup> In notes on the author's translation of the poem, Peking, 26 March 1983.
- <sup>35</sup> Michelle Loi, in this poem at least, sees the possibility of Jammes having influenced Dai Wangshu:
- "La scène est chinoise, mais l'idée première est sans doute de F. Jammes "  
(The scene is Chinese, but the initial idea doubtless comes from Jammes) (M. Loi, *Poètes chinois*, p. 103, note 1).
- But other than a resemblance to Jammes poems describing village life, this is probably one of Dai's poems least influenced by French verse.
- <sup>36</sup> WSC, pp. 66-67; *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 1 (1931), p. 1281.
- <sup>37</sup> See appendices 2 (letter from *Cahiers du Sud*) and 4 (text).
- <sup>38</sup> WSC, pp. 78-80; *Xiandai* 1 (1932), p. 401-02.
- <sup>39</sup> See appendix 2, letter from *Cahiers du Sud*.
- <sup>40</sup> WSC, pp. 81-84; *Xiandai* 1 (1932), p. 403-05.
- <sup>41</sup> Zuo Yan 左燕, "Dai Wangshu shi de xiangzheng zhuyi shoufa" 戴望舒诗的象征主义手法 [Symbolist technique in Dai Wangshu's poetry], *Baihuazhou* 百花洲 no. 4 (1981), 168-169. Miss Zuo Yan is one of China's

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younger generation of literary critics. Her article is one of the few recent articles on Dai Wangshu's poetry that approaches a measure of mature objectivity. It was written under the supervision of Professor Shi Zhecun whose student she was. Shi Zhecun has also given advice to other students attempting to write about Dai Wangshu and Modernism in China, for instance to Mr. Que Guoqiu, who while accepting Shi's factual statements, apparently ignored his opinions.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>43</sup>Stephen Spender, review of *T.S. Eliot*, by Peter Ackroyd, in *London Observer* 30 September 1984, p. 21.

<sup>44</sup>WSC. pp. 96-98

<sup>45</sup>Li Jinfa 李金发, often referred to as China's first Symbolist poet. He started writing poetry in the early 1920s. Introduced Symbolist techniques into his poetry and created quite a stir among China's new poets who had up until then been influenced mainly by English and Germanic poetry. Li Jinfa's literary creativity spanned but four or five years between 1925 and 1928. Much influenced by Verlaine and Baudelaire his poetry was seen by many as incomprehensible, as if he were translating the paraphernalia of the early Symbolists rather than the spirit.

Dai Wangshu seems to have escaped much of the kind of criticism levelled at Li Jinfa. Neither Dai nor his friends seem to have been influenced by nor taken any interest in Li Jinfa.

The major difference between the two poets rests perhaps in their apprenticeships. Li was directly inspired by the great masters of French Symbolism and tried to emulate them by throwing a plethora of disconnected images at the reader. Dai came to use Symbolist techniques and images at a more gradual pace and took as his models the less effervescent French poets.

Li Jinfa's poetry was just too symbolistic for the poetry readers of the 1920s to understand.

For a brief introduction to Li Jinfa's poetry and ideas, see: Tu Kuo-ch'ing, "Li Chin-fa and Kambara Ariake: The First Symbolist Poets in China and Japan", in *Essays in Commemoration of The Golden Jubilee of the Fung Ping Shan Library (1932-1982)*, ed. Chan Pin-leung (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1982), pp. 317-344.

<sup>46</sup>WSC, pp. 99-100; *Xiandai* 2 (1932), p. 127.



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<sup>47</sup> See appendix 4 for French version. Bian Zhilin, in notes on the author's translation of the poem.

<sup>48</sup> See appendix 1, pp. 385, 401.

<sup>49</sup> WSC, pp. 104-107; *Xiandai* 2 (1932), 123-124.

<sup>50</sup> Zuo Yan, "Dai Wangshu shi de xiangzheng zhuyi shoufa", p. 167.

<sup>51</sup> 'Zuo wan', *Beidou* 1,3 (1931), pp. 60-61 and *Dai Wangshu shiji*, pp. 155-6 (redolent of the animistic poetry of Jammes); 'Women de xiao muqin' and 'Liu shui', *Xinwenyi* 2 (1930), 93-95, 96-97 and *Dai Wangshu shiji*, 153-4, 151-2 respectively.

<sup>52</sup> For a discussion of the background to these poems see Chapter 1, pp. 26-28 above.

<sup>53</sup> *Xin wenyi* 2 (1930), pp. 96-97.

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[*Wangshu shigao* and *Zainan de suiyue*  
hereafter cited as WSSG and ZNDSY.]

<sup>1</sup> Published by the Zazhi gongsi 杂志公司, Shanghai, January 1937.

<sup>2</sup> WSSG, pp. 145-146; *Xiandai shifeng*, no. 1 (October 1935), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> WSSG, pp. 45-48.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> The 'roc', an ancient Chinese mythical bird, mentioned in the *Zhuangzi* 《庄子》; the sentiment of lines 8, 12 and 13 bears a resemblance to a passage in the classic which deals with the transmogrification of animals and fish into birds.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 246-247 above.

<sup>7</sup> WSSG, pp. 141-142.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 201-202 above.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 42 above and appendix 1.

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- <sup>10</sup> See Chapter V, note 65.
- <sup>11</sup> WSSG, pp. 145-146.
- <sup>12</sup> ZNDSY was published in February 1948 by the *Xingqun chubanshe*, Shanghai.
- <sup>13</sup> ZNDSY, p. 81.
- <sup>14</sup> See appendix 3, for the poems in manuscript.
- <sup>15</sup> 'Yuanri zhufu' 元旦祝福, ZNDSY, pp. 38-39;  
'Xiao Hong mupan kouzhan' 萧红墓畔口占, ZNDSY, p. 83.
- <sup>16</sup> See appendix 3, p. 539.
- <sup>17</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang, who thought it quite probable that Dai wrote at least some of his poems in French and then 'translated' them into Chinese; Luo Dagang had apparently followed this practice himself.
- <sup>18</sup> See appendix 3, p. 539.
- <sup>19</sup> ZNDSY, p. 12.
- <sup>20</sup> Interview with Luo Dagang. Duperray often would come and discuss classical Chinese poetry with Dai and Luo in their room at the Institut franco-chinois.
- <sup>21</sup> ZNDSY, pp. 13-16.
- <sup>22</sup> See pp. 247-248 above.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> *Xiandai shifeng*, no. 1 (October 1935), p. 17.
- <sup>25</sup> Apollinaire was, of course, the most famous exponent of calligramatic representation, but in Latin American Modernist poetry there has also been an intense interest. Influenced by Chinese poetry and Japanese *haiku* were the Mexican José Juan Tablada and Vicente Huidobro, friend of Pierre Reverdy. Octavio Paz, the celebrated Mexican poet and exponent of 'concrete' poetry has noted the possibilities of calligramatic effects in Chinese and of Western experiments, has said:  
"In Western poetry the interplay is basically between sound and sense. There is, however, a tradition of visual poetry beginning in Greece and continuing to Mallarmé and Apollinaire. In Latin America, Huidobro antic-

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ipated Apollinaire's experiments, and Tablada was producing ideographic poems in 1921" (Octavio Paz, in Rita Guibert, *Seven Voices* (New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1973), p.224).

<sup>26</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 20-21.

<sup>27</sup>See appendix 2, p.541 .

<sup>28</sup>This is so until his last poems which deal with experiences that will not evaporate, not intimations but overwhelming feelings.

<sup>29</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 22-25.

<sup>30</sup>Line 13: a traditional saying; a parent has to turn a blind eye to some of the things his children get up to.

<sup>31</sup>*Xinshi* 1 (1936), pp. 46-48; *Xiangdao ribao*, *Riyao wenyi*, no. 1, 1 July 1945.

<sup>32</sup>Jammes, *De l'Angelus*, p. 191-192.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, 191.

<sup>34</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 26-31; *Xin shi*, 1 (1936), pp. 192-195.

<sup>35</sup>ZNDSY, p. 37.

<sup>36</sup>ZNDSY, p. 38.

<sup>37</sup>See p. 96 above.

<sup>38</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 40-41.

<sup>39</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 42-45.

<sup>40</sup>Loi, *Poètes chinois*, p. 123. Mme. Loi is referring to 'Chun wang' 春望, written by Du Fu in 757 when the capital Chang'an was occupied by General An Lushan's Tartar troops. It is true that both poems were written while China was under enemy occupation, but there the similarity stops. The connection of Dai's poem with Du Fu's is, thus, highly tenuous.

<sup>41</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 46-48.

<sup>42</sup>See appendix 3.

<sup>43</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 49-52.

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<sup>44</sup> See, for instance, Xiao Xiao 萧萧, *Xiandai shi ru men* 《现代诗入门》(Taipei: Guxiang chubanshe 故乡出版社, 1981), p. 150.

<sup>45</sup> Dominic Cheung, "Feng chih..." (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1973), p. 10-11.

<sup>46</sup> Lodge, p. 193.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 191.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> In the 1930s and 1940s in Latin America, there was great interest in the possibilities of a new art-form: *aeropictura*, practiced and given a theoretical base by the Mexican artist Atl. It was to be applied in both poetry and painting and drew on scenes and landscapes as seen from an aeroplane.

It is highly unlikely that Dai had heard of *aeropictura*, but the poem under discussion and also the line in 'Bu mei' 不寐 (Sleeplessness) (see p. 250 above), "a march-past watched from an aeroplane", would suggest that Dai had glimpsed the potential of such a perspective.

<sup>50</sup> Certainly, the films of the poet and director Jean Cocteau are metaphoric. One of his most famous films, a poetic fantasy, *Le sang d'un poète* [The blood of a poet] (1932), has as its metaphorical centre-piece the wound in the hand of a poet, the wound out of which the poetry speaks. Thus, the medium of film can be used metaphorically and to great effect, even if the majority tend towards the metonymic.

<sup>51</sup> ZNDSY, pp. 53-55.

<sup>52</sup> ZNDSY, pp. 56-57.

<sup>53</sup> ZNDSY, pp. 58-62.

<sup>54</sup> See page 101 above.

<sup>55</sup> Wu Xiaoling's Chronology.

<sup>56</sup> ZNDSY, p. 63.

<sup>57</sup> ZNDSY, pp. 64-71.

<sup>58</sup> Shi Zhecun supplies the location of Dai's house in an addendum to a manuscript entitled 'Linquan ju riji' 林泉居日记, (林泉 is, of course, a symbol of retreat or retirement to the countryside) in which Dai

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further describes his life at home in Woodbrook Villa, styled 林泉屋 by Dai himself. The fragment is published in *Xianggang wenxue*, no. 2 (1985), pp. 5-7.

<sup>59</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 72-77. The house described is once again Woodbrook Villa. Dai was, of course, later reunited with his eldest daughter, whom he took with him to Peking in 1949.

<sup>60</sup>ZNDSY, pp. 81-82.

<sup>61</sup>Lodge, p. 177.

<sup>62</sup>Mandelstam, p. 439.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>F.R. Leavis, *Revaluation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, Pelican Books, 1978), p. 11.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### A FRAGMENT OF

### DAI WANGSHU'S DIARY

The following pages are all that remain of a diary Dai Wangshu started to keep in October 1932. They deal exclusively with his voyage to France at the end of that year and span just over a month of the poet's life.

Although much of the diary is of the 'two eggs for breakfast' ilk, it nevertheless affords certain insights into Dai Wangshu's personal relations, his interests, personality and social behaviour. The diary will also be of interest to students of modern Chinese history in that it records a voyage similar to that undertaken by many hundreds of Chinese students going to study abroad during the 1920s and 1930s.

The fragment was kindly lent to me by Professor Wu Xiaoling, a renowned scholar and writer, who himself is deeply concerned with furthering the study of Dai Wangshu.

Together with the poet's manuscript notebook, it is one of the few extant, as yet unpublished, documents penned by the poet.

*CHINESE TEXT*

NOTE: The facsimile of this diary here presented was made from an already deteriorating original in Peking. The copy was made on inferior equipment which unfortunately was all that was available. Legibility is therefore of uneven quality. The author has judged it to be more valuable to present this copy of the original rather than a transcript. Where the text is difficult to read, notes have been appended at the foot of the page. [For an annotated translation see pp. 389-405.]



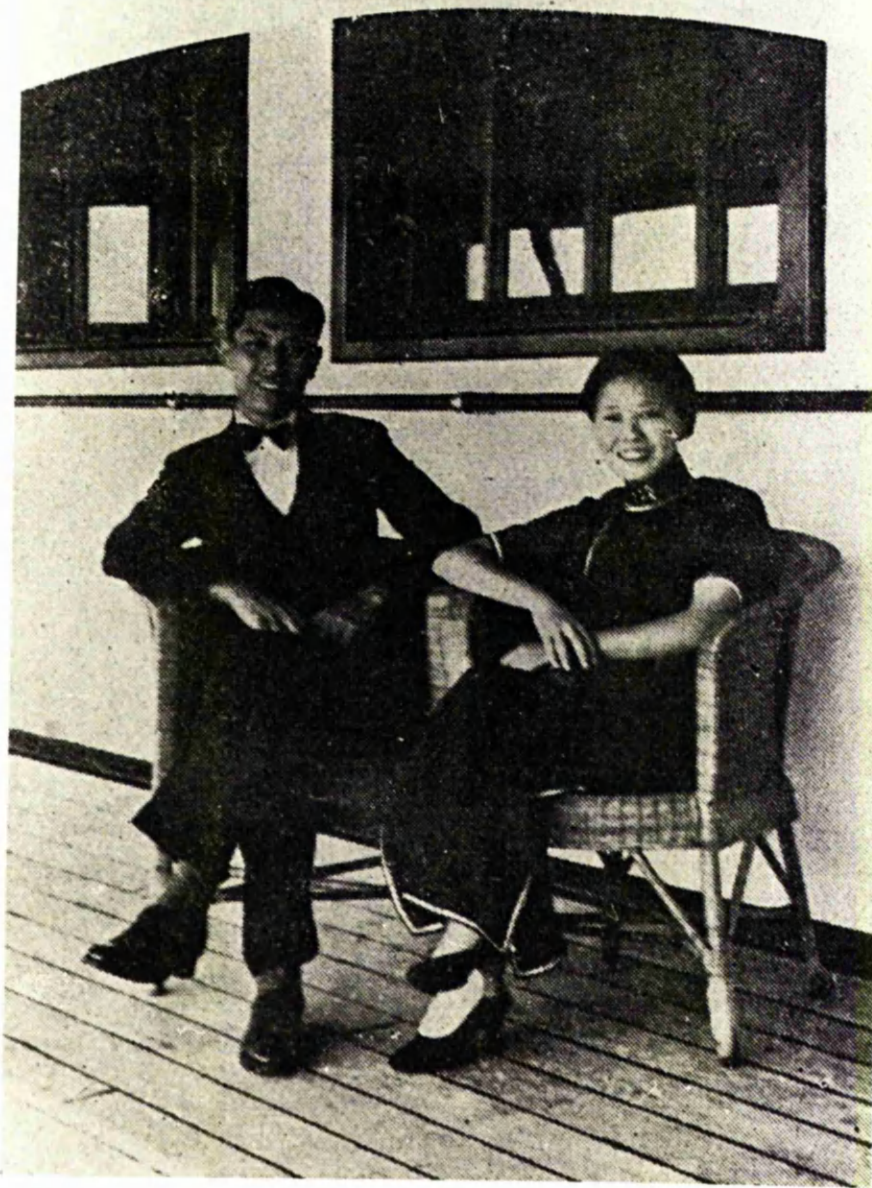


Fig. 19. Dai Wangshu and Shi Jiangnian: "We asked Wang to take some photographs of us on board ship."



Fig. 20. Farewell to Dai Wangshu





1932.7.10

上午在甲板上晒太阳看海水,和司船人谈话。司船的中国人竟没有一个会讲得正法语的。下午请了一盅 *Agala*, 又到甲板上去, 席间竟和司船人向隔壁船, 敲开的一个窗何草拈 *Past wine* 来共饮。和司船人告别时到七点才睡觉。

1932.10.10

照常是半同的生活。请了一盅 *Agala*。下午多信给作年家, 谈的, 谈中, 因为明天可以到香港了。

晚上凉快得很, 因为在香港附近, 但是北风里带着凉意。

1932.10.11

上午八点多钟到香港, 香港在港对面九洲对岸。第一站看见的是新界山, 是太平山, 是一个像新的大堡垒。我们一行十一人上岸登岸到香港去, 把昨天所寄的信寄了, 然后乘人又乘到是德公司, 在是德公司住了一宿, 什么也没有, 和林周二人先回。船上的人已吃过晚饭也和林周三人共进晚餐, 转舵之后, 林周上顶五九就去找船医。遇是到里士的苹果, 招待他上船, 又请他给钱买了一件帆布床。以后呢, 这船到甲板上去了, 在船来宝而已。

船六时开, 上船的人多了。有一个广东人很 *channing* 是叫西贡人。他住在上海住过四年, 讲法高门, 又讲他船中有一人。他讲他到五九 (五九) 说是有五九, 大约不是好话。...

1932.10.10

(2.1) 下午身... 垫存, 续

(2.3) ... 花, 西海。

1932.10.11

(2.7) ... 看见

(2.3) ... 乘德公司去。

(2.4) ... 船上人已吃过, 交涉也 □ [无?] 效。

(2.5) ... 附送散席。

(2.9-10) ... 就在我们隔壁 ... 不是姊妹就舞女。



他看見自己信寫不好，就跑去偷信，就給他去（這地，他叫的 *cent-tante* 也有丈夫）。我聽她丈夫說是一個牛鬼吧。她要到曉岸去，岸後叫 *Abolom*，昨天回國電報沒有打過。那原對年很虛心，心煩，一送 *Land*。

10.14.

起去寄信給作年，家。午時便到西貢，主船人曉和德來，作年做碼頭主理。熟習照樣所本報，步行至 *jardin botanique* 去，看了幾一回，乘車返船，真是難。吃過點心後，和用船人到 *Marché* 去玩，一點也沒意思，在途中遇見那廣東少年，他即通信處告訴我，并信託一時去。他那時在 *Hotel Sédal, 74, Avenue Louis Bonaparte*。

吃過晚飯，即乘車去訪他，即和他及朋友在 *Hotel Sédal* 裏面 *Bar* 裏一同試坐。他們還未吃飯，僅吃上飯飯。飯後，帶到旅館中去睡了一宿，我和 *Nhu* 則在街上等他。 *Nhu* 好說說，帶到父親新有幾個錢，他即帶到是時候，不勝感戴，他們現在已去遊玩，自稱創可立。即出來後，我們與他坐的船，但回時因太早，未到老到旅館中坐了一回。十點鐘時，我們仍去遊玩，因有三位是後有靠女婦。我們乘車到了一家安南人信事處。那人家祇有三個女人在那裏，據他男人已出門行遠了。安南人本習信是時候，我們所去的一家已往是有三個人了。當那三位在南州極極裝好之後，便一同乘車至 *Quang Myong* 和星西安長上音碼頭，過去要去的。音音很好，及有歌聲是歌聲，既變而不變。可是既很黑，很少船。到二時半，就返。他們要我們到那三位小姐處去，請以存立。那三位

小女兒名字是: Alice Thin, Jeanne Duong, 送 Hong. 弄重 - Alice  
為最佳。

10.15

起事後和... 一同出去, 快滿到 cholon 土院, 先走土院路, 土院失散  
了, 我他們不著, 便一人上路... 一瓶啤酒, 即回船。他們  
都在船中。他們在平夫問了進來, 不會說話, 不識路, 只得回來。午飯後,  
再去他們一同出發到 cholon 去。先到 marche, 受電車往 cholon 是公家  
人居住之處, 我仍在那邊逛了一日之後, 到一處叫方做樓的西式建築,  
歌歌, 吃點心。這西餐後, 到 Photo Studio 去了一趟, 到一處叫作新街會。到  
... 去買一頂白毡帽, 西曆西天各一頂, 到一處叫作平亞街。

西天天氣很熱, 又常下雨, 無糖粒。第一次飲椰子茶。

10.16.

一直睡到吃午飯的時候。午飯後, 在船上走來[去]而已。

在飯後和... 上岸去喝啤酒, 回來即睡。船要開三時晨口時開。

10.17.

起來時船已開口航行了。一種莫名的恐怖感籠罩了我。我  
多麼渴望著高樓大廈和繁華。西來和平與安穩已遠了, 故我至五時晨。  
我以 Sunkist 牛奶吃飽飯, 然而已經晚了。

今日天氣... 所以... 故我至五時晨。

下午起風浪, 更難中, 船成以快而慢了。

10.15 [1.1]... 和同船人一同出去...

[1.2] 了, 我他們不著, 便一人上路... 一瓶啤酒, 即回船。

10.17

[1.2] ... 祇好去在海里。終年終

[1.3] 我的 Sunkist...

在西貢他許多錢，想（其不該）。以後多節省。

10/18

下午游了一小段。四時半舉行救災演習，不過停止了。演習後到岸上去了。吃過晚飯後又無（如）音信，（因）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

明天我要到新加坡（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

10.19

上午七時先到了新加坡，船來岸的時候停着。人很多，小舟要討罰錢，如果船把錢丟下水去，他們就躍入水中去拿。其中有一老人被犬咬，他針一也吸，一也跳入水去。上岸後聖品大學的學生（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。我和林二人步行去尋，在岸上走了一圈，（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。覺得（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

在碼頭上買了一粒月光石，極得送給（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

船在下午三時啟碇，據說明天可以到檳榔。

在香港換的英國說洋大上直，收銀二十五元，（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

同船的人士衛時說，他亞大紹用半載（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

10.20

船在下午八時抵檳榔（Ponang）。上岸後，（如）（知）（時）（候）（已）（不）（到）（現）（場）（了）。

10.19

[1.1]..有許多本地土人...

[1.2]..入水中去拿起來而不失一。

[1.8]..有的地方...

[11.10-11]..已把聖物的腦摩/羅什譯成英文，預備到英國去發表。\*

\* See note in translation.



車至亞答街上通遊街，伴乃赴中國廟，以進校椅高聲，班帶之至廟前，  
 風聲大作，至廟前已閉，且無灯火，日所見之聲，最進而通。至廟前，  
 乃下車。看其後，海城之大世界也。其後環入，有工戲，有度戲，并其  
 有來戲，每戲後巡繞一周，而飲諸子水少許後，即出後，繞大街，外計公家（  
 一係辦公事，購場而已）市水菓，步行近海，各人所受之便，一皮部。

10, 21.

睡時船已開，蓋至今晨六時啟碇者也。

得了 *St. Agatha*，睡時向王向請而已。

10, 22.

寢食得安，天無風，天無風者也。

10, 23.

*Nostalgie, Nostalgie!*

10, 24.

上午得了一早見 *Ayala*。下午報中報，謂 <sup>加</sup>巨風將至，將  
 商戶都關上了，兩得要命。實際上却一風浪都沒有。睡得很早，因  
 為明天一早就到 *Colombo* 了。

10, 25.

睡在早飯後，船已出 *Colombo* 的港口，已安穩了渡過，怎（地）  
 把這年來的信寫好了，然後上岸去。因為船是泊在港中而不靠  
 岸，而公司的人已向，乃可以上陸，即有信到上岸者。上岸上登到

3 同船的好商人, 和他们同雇了两辆汽车在 Colombo 各地巡游, 到  
 就地方有维多利亚公园, 佛教庙/庙中神像显得很好, 也已, 敬化),  
 我们过去的时候作脱鞋, Zoo, Museum, 全非主要看花而已。回船时  
 时已不及到船上吃晚饭, 就在岸上吃一家 Restaurant 中吃了。饭后在岸上  
 中逛了一会, 到自个去唱游。回船时休息了一会, 又到岸上支店, 买了  
 吃一个椰子, 走了一圈, 绕回船。船在九时开。

10. 26 — 30

五天以来没有什么可以记的, 度着寂寞的时光而已。印度洋上安  
 了反浪的, 这风浪平静, 不像航行在四月十一日。海上除大风一浪之外  
 外什么也看不见, 祇保边有较远船类和像形类行踪的博德使着。  
 无聊而已。

10. 31.

昨夜所病, 今晨已愈, 以后饮食当更小心。

下午四时船中开始开会, 商量在下一段时程中已。

晚饭后, 看月亮, 看星星, 看银河, 实在很清, 很亮。

明天可以到 Sydney's.

在船中修整。

1932.11.1.

上午十一時到克布吐。船並不靠碼頭。我們吃了中飯後，乘小  
 船(通人 = *franc*)登岸。從碼頭走到郵政局，寄了信，即車站上  
 南去。去布地是我們曾經所見到過最壞的地方。天氣很熱，  
 房屋都已經倒塌，路上積着泥，除了跟住我們的土人外，  
 滿目是土人。我們到土人住了一處，被安頓了回來，  
 即裏面骨解了，人獸雜處，而土人却病在床。有一個土人被雷殺死，  
 他去看過女裸葬，因路遠未去，即回返舟。

下午四時，船即啟程。

在船中九時到十時有晚餐，我很累，未去。

11.2

天氣很熱，不敢做事，整天在甲板上。

11.3

晚上船中開始跳舞，我也參加，覺得很之興趣，跳  
 了一次，很早就回房睡了。

11.4

下午船中開始跳舞，我，未去，而已。

11.5

七時到 Suva，船並不靠岸，岸上有一大橋，可以駛一個位。  
 有許多土人，還有許多土人，...

1932.11.1 [1.4] 除了...不肯走的土人外

11.3

[11.3, 4] 跳舞了一次...

11.5

[11.1, 2] 上岸去的人簡直可以說一個也沒有。/有許多小販來  
 賣土貨，...照照片的。我戴[sic]一頂土耳其帽，就戴  
 了這帽

海鹽、鹽

我定二時許開赴 Port Said, 在 Suez 居住, 海行, 兩岸風景沙荒, 絕無綠。上午四時始抵埃及, 是日即平定。

11.6

上午八時許，乘船到 Port Said。七時起程，因吃魚  
未熟，船上岸。(13/11) 因此船已不載貨。

四月十一日 地方，但卻很熱鬧，我上岸後就在大街上走，  
看見許多遊民和乞丐，到處可見，公家賣和人口，到處可見，  
一點錢。此時在街上走，走了三小時。路過小橋，看見一  
座廟，吃了中飯後到甲板上去看小販賣物，買了兩包煙及煙。

船在四時三刻駛入地盤。

天帝讓世孫起兵，大家都讚美他。

11.7

今日微有風浪，下午起浪，Ayala 因頭暈未果。

時得很早。

71,8

此等天恩故事。實錄載於前。通政司。準備到任。

[11.5 cont'd.]

[last line] ...上午所写的经纬年、月、日、时...

11.6 [11.2-5] 就乘小汽艇上岸去 (13 hrs), 因为还是靠岸。

是一个很小地方...在大街上东云/雨看, 混乱外, 重画一点特点。

11.8

依然整天没有做事。晚饭後拟好了电报稿，准备到巴黎时发。

Journal sentimental

Excuse-moi, je l'ai  
 lu, (je le trouve  
 dans la table commune.  
 grand hasard!) Et je  
 l'intitule ainsi, tu  
 serais content.<sup>1</sup>

8th October 1932

To-day I'm finally going. Woke up at six o'clock this morning. Jiangnian was very sad.<sup>2</sup> There was really so much we wanted to say to each other that in the end apart from consoling one another we said nothing at all. I honestly felt like crying.

From Zhenhua to the pier. Uncle Shi, [Shi] Zhecun, Du Heng, [Mu] Shiyong, [Hu] Qiuyuan and his wife, [Liu] Na'ou, Wang, little sister Ying, Huang and Jiangnian came to see me off.<sup>3</sup> Father and Ying didn't come on board. We asked Wang to take some

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<sup>1</sup>The comments written at the top right-hand corner of the page were added later by a person unknown. Judging by the style, the writer is not French and was probably a fellow-student in Lyons.

<sup>2</sup>Jiangnian 绛年: Shi Zhecun's sister to whom Dai was engaged to be married. While Dai was in France she eloped with a refrigerator salesman. Shi, worried about the impact of such news, kept Dai in ignorance.

<sup>3</sup>Uncle Shi: Shi Zhecun's father; Shi Zhecun 施蛰存, Du Heng 杜衡, Liu Na'ou 刘呐鸥 were all childhood friends and later colleagues of the poet; Mu Shiyong 穆时英, a controversial literary figure of the 1930s and '40s whose sister Dai later married. Hu Qiuyuan 胡秋原 was involved in the "Third Kind of Man" debate, together with Du Heng.

photographs of us on board ship.[See photograph of Dai and Jiangnian, p. 377.]

*The most intolerable moment was just before the ship was about to depart. Jiangnian was weeping. I threw a note over the side, saying: Jiang, don't cry. But the note was swept into the river by the wind. Jiangnian chased after it but couldn't catch it. When I saw her running like that I could hardly hold back the tears. The ship started up. I returned to the cabin. When the ship had weighed anchor and moved off, I ran back up on deck again to see if I could make out where the people who had come to see me off were, and catching a glimpse of Jiangnian, I stayed there right up until I could no longer make out her white handkerchief and then I went back to the cabin.*

*The cabin number is 327, there are three people in it, all students. Zhou Huan - Nanjing University; Zhao Peilin - Sino-French University [Peking]; Diao Shiheng - Yanjing University Research Institute [in Peking].*

*The food is awful, but there is wine and there is enough to eat, but that's the best you can say about it.*

*After dinner I put on the neck-chain Jiangnian had given to me. It's a sort of physical proof of my desire: always loving her, always imagining her.*

*Lying down in the cabin, alone and extremely*

lonely. Previously, I'd been thinking of going to France for three or four years. Yesterday, in reply to Jiangnian, I'd said two years at most. Now, I really regret this hasty folly of going to France altogether. Why? Leaving loved ones so far away. If I could I really would go back. To be always by the side of loved ones, mother and father, and good friends: isn't a man who lives a life like that the happiest man in the world?

Slept before having a snack, the last few days have been really tiring.

To-day something really infuriating happened, I was swindled out of a hundred francs by a quayside rogue.

[Page 2]

9th October 1932

In the morning, on deck taking the sun, looking at the sea, chatting with other passengers. Among the Chinese passengers there isn't one who knows French. In the afternoon I translated a bit of Ayala, went up on deck again, when I felt lonely.<sup>4</sup> During the evening, a businessman He Huaxiu from the neighbouring cabin brought Port Wine for us to drink.

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<sup>4</sup> Ayala: Spanish novelist and short story writer. In a collection of Spanish short stories translated by Dai, *Xibanya duanpian xiaoshuo* 西班牙短篇小说 (1936), there appears a short story of Ayala's. Evidently, Dai had already commenced his study of Spanish which he later continued in Paris.

*Chatted with the others in my cabin until finally going to bed after ten.*

10th October 1932

*A monotonous existence as usual. Translated a bit of Ayala. In the afternoon, wrote letters to Jiangnian, the family, [Shi] Zhecun and my sister Ying because tomorrow we get to Hong Kong.*

*Evening, went to bed very late, because I wanted to see Hong Kong-by-night, but only saw the sea around Hong Kong.*

11th October 1932

*The ship arrived in Hong Kong at about six in the morning, docking at the Kowloon pier opposite Hong Kong [Island]. Saw Hong Kong for the first time. The houses are all built on the hill-side. In the morning mist as I was looking up at them in the distance, it was as if it were a magician's fortress.<sup>5</sup> Eleven of us went ashore and got on the ferry for Hong Kong. Posted the letters written yesterday, then went in rickshaws to the Xianshi Company. Went in to the Xianshi Company for a while, didn't buy anything at all, came back with Lin and Zhou. Lunch had already been served on board ship, and as argument was useless, Lin, Zhou and I filled ourselves up drinking wine and eating biscuits. After eating we went down onto the pier and went for a walk by Kowloon railway station. Bumped into Mr. Zhuo who is going to Lyons,*

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<sup>5</sup>Several years later Dai would himself have a house in the midst of this 'magician's fortress'.



showed him aboard, then asked him to buy a camp-bed for me. Afterwards, went on board and up onto the deck and then just sat in the cabin.

The ship left at six in the evening, a lot of people got on board. There is a very charming Cantonese girl, she's going to Saigon. She says she's spent four years in Shanghai, she knows a few words of French, she also said she was alone in her cabin. (Her cabin is just next door to ours). I think she looks a bit shady, probably if she's not a prostitute, she's a dancing girl.

[Page 3]

After the ship sailed there was a storm, my cabin-mate Zhao Peilin vomited, but managed to contain himself long enough to dash outside. Had a wash and went and sat on deck. Sat there right up until ten o'clock, before going to bed.

12th October 1932

In the afternoon, the cantonnaise came to the cabin to have a chat. She wanted to send a telegram, I converted the message from characters to telegraphic code numbers for her. She went off to send it, but the place she wanted to send it to in Vietnam did not have a telegraph station, so she came back downstairs. She asked me if I would see her onto the bus in Saigon and I consented. Her surname is Chen and her first name Ruolan. When I saw her in the cabin she was wearing a pyjama suit, around her neck she was wearing

a necklace of white gold, really cute. Around four o'clock she went to number 25 in second class.

All evening, the cantonnaise created a sensation in the third class cabins. A young Cantonese fellow came to see me and asked me whether or not she was my sister. Louis Rolle then asked me if I had decided whether or not she was a prostitute and if two dollars a time would be enough; a young fellow from Annam came to tell me that he had often seen her in Hong Kong's dancing and singing clubs, probably she is not a serious person and she has not got a passport. Fellow Chinese passengers often joke with me as if I'd already had relations with her. It's really absurd!

Before going to bed, went up on deck for a walk, ran into that French officer who is in the cabin opposite. He kept a French prostitute from Shanghai to Hong Kong. The prostitute got off in Hong Kong. Apparently his sexual desire was uncontainable, he asked me if there was any way to coucher avec the ambassador's daughters. I told him that it was impossible, even for money, but he said that on peut trouver le moyen tout de même. The girls don't have men accompanying them on the journey, I think it's really dangerous. I wonder whether the three girls will be taken in?

Still haven't finished translating Ayala because the dining room is stuffy and warm, one simply cannot sit there.

13th October 1932

The young Cantonese chap to-day called Deng [sic], came to see me to-day numerous times, asking me to go with him to see Chen Ruolan. Probably he/[Page 4] saw that his own credit was not good, and so asked me to go along as a cover. I went with him twice. It turns out that the cantonaïse has a husband. I think she is probably a kept mistress. She's on her way to Tiya. Tiya is called Cholon in French, that's why yesterday we didn't succeed in sending the telegram.<sup>6</sup> That young Cantonese chap is very enthusiastic, later he's going to see her off.

14th October 1932

Got up and wrote to Jiangnian, Zhecun and the family. Afternoon, arrived Saigon. Fellow passengers pooled their money and asked me to act as organiser of the entertainment. Disembarked after passport inspection, went for a walk to the jardin botannique, had a look around, took the bus back to the ship, really exhausted. After tea, went with some of the other passengers to the marché to have some fun, completely uninteresting. On the way back bumped into the young Cantonese fellow. He told me his mailing address and I arranged to meet him there at six o'clock. His

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<sup>6</sup> The influx of Chinese immigrants into South-East Asia increased dramatically during the first half of the twentieth-century, submerging the former Chinese colonists. Cholon, founded by refugees from the Manchu invasion, thus, became an entirely Chinese town.

mailing address is Photo Ideal, 74 Boulevard Bonnard.

After dinner went by bus to meet him. Together with Nhu, the owner of Photo Ideal, we went out for the evening. They hadn't yet eaten, so we first went to a restaurant. After eating Deng went into his hotel for a while, meanwhile Nhu and I waited for him outside in the street. Nhu told me that Deng's father has got a bit of money, so Deng can just play about and doesn't have any proper occupation, they got to know one another in Paris and just became friends. After Deng came out we decided to go dancing, but because it was too early we went first to sit for a while in a coffee shop. After ten o'clock set out with them to find dancing partners, because Saigon doesn't have dance hostesses. We went to an Annamese household by car. There were only three girls in the house, apparently the men were all out on business. The interiors of Annamese houses are quite peculiar, those we've been to have been a little Europeanized. After having waited for the three Annamese girls to make themselves up, we all went to the Dancing Majestic. It's Saigon's best ballroom. You need a ticket to get in. The music was very good, there were singers and dancers who performed. I thought it wasn't bad. But I was very tired and danced very little. At two o'clock we started back. They wanted me to go back with them to the home of the three girls. I didn't go. / [Page 5] The three Annamese girls were

called Alice Thiu, Jeanne Duong, Le Hong. Alice was the best dancer.

15th October

After getting up, went out with some of the other passengers, having decided to go to Cholon. I went first to change some money, on the way I got lost and I couldn't find the others, and so wandered up the road alone. Posted some letters, had a bottle of beer and came back to the boat. They were all on board ship. Their drivers had started getting quarrelsome, they couldn't communicate, they didn't know the way, so they had no alternative but to come back. After lunch, set off with them once gain for Cholon. First went to the marché, then caught a trolley-bus. There are a lot of Cantonese living in Cholon; after we had wandered around a while we went to a restaurant called the Ancient Lake Pavillion, where we drank tea, listened to music and had a snack. After returning to Saigon, called in at Photo Ideal to say good-bye and thank Deng for yesterday evening. Went to the marché, to buy a white sun-hat, suddenly it started pouring with rain, waited until it had stopped before coming back in a rickshaw.

The weather in Saigon is very hot, and it often rains, it's really awful. Drank coconut milk for the first time.

16th October

I slept until lunch-time. After lunch, walked

up and down the ship and that was all. After dinner I went for a drink with Linhua, then came back and slept. The ship is due to leave at four o'clock tomorrow morning.

17th October

When I got up the ship was already ploughing through the ocean. An inexplicable sadness took hold of me. I really longed for home, longed for Jiangnian! The dried beef I'd brought along had already gone bad, I had to throw it in the sea. Fortunately, I had already consumed the Sunkist Jiangnian had given me, although two of them had already gone bad.

To-day, because of feeling homesick, I didn't do anything all day long.

This afternoon a storm sprang up, all the others bar me were seasick.

[Page 6]

I spent a lot of money in Saigon, I think I really shouldn't have. From now on I'll have to be thrifty.

18th October

Afternoon translated a bit of Ayala. At half past four there was a life-boat drill, but it just involved putting on a life-jacket and having one's name ticked off up on deck. After dinner, I once again longingly thought of Jiangnian, that vision that I'd seen when the ship left, again appeared before my eyes.

Arrive Singapore tomorrow. Finished writing letters to Jiangnian, Zhecun, the family and my little sister Ying.

19th October

Around nine in the morning arrived in Singapore. When the ship berthed, lots of local people punted their small boats up to the ship to beg for money. As we threw the money into the water, they jumped in to get it, not losing a penny. Among them there was an old man who was particularly adroit, on the one hand smoking a cigar while on the other diving into the water. After disembarking, all the Lyons University students went off in rickshaws.<sup>7</sup> Lin and I went to post some letters, went for a walk down the main street, drank two bottles of orange juice, bought a newspaper and came back. I think Singapore is much cleaner than Saigon.

At three in the afternoon we weighed anchor. They say we'll be in Penang tomorrow.

In Hong Kong there was a big swindle in the exchange rate of American silver dollars, they only fetched two francs each; some places did not want them at all, and yet bank notes fetched upwards of twenty-five francs.

My cabin-mate, Zhao Shiheng, told me that his

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<sup>7</sup> Note that at this time, Dai had no plans to attend Lyons University, and did not include himself among the group of students bound for the Institut franco-chinois of Lyons University.

class-mate at Yanjing University, Dai Huaiqing, had already translated [Shi] Zhecun's Kumārajīva into English and had plans to go to England and have it published there.<sup>8</sup>

20th October

The ship arrived in Penang at eight o'clock in the evening. After disembarking, hired a car with the other people in the cabin. / [Page 7] First, rode up the main streets, then went to a Chinese temple, on the way we passed tall luxuriant palm trees. The tropical stars shone very bright, the scenery was extremely beautiful, but on arrival at the temple, we found that not only was the temple gate closed but the lights were out too. Having heard the gurgling of a spring and croaking of the frogs, we gave up and came back. Went to the Chun Man Building and let the car go. The Chun Man Building is the Da Shijie of Penang.<sup>9</sup> Bought a ticket and went in. There was local opera, Cantonese opera and Peking opera too. We wandered around and drank some orange lemonade, then we came out after a while, wandered down the street and went to the Xin Gong Shi [New Public Market] (the so-called

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<sup>8</sup> Kumārajīva 鸠摩罗什, short story by Shi Zhecun. The title takes its name from the Buddhist monk about whom Shi wrote a psycho-analytical story. The story appears not to have been published in an English translation.

<sup>9</sup> Da shijie 大世界, a famous entertainment complex in Shanghai.



*New Public Market is no more than a a gambling den) and bought some fruit. Walked back to the ship. Everybody had spent seven francs each.*

21st October

*By the time I got to bed the ship had already cast off. It was about six o'clock in the morning when the ship weighed anchor. Translated a little Ayala, and the rest of the time just sat around and talked.*

22nd October

*So lonely I could cry. Just spent the whole day in a trance.*

23rd October

*Nostalgie. Nostalgie!*

24th October

*Morning, translated a bit of Ayala. Afternoon, there was an announcement, on board, warning of a gale coming. All the port-holes were closed up, it was terrifying. In fact, apart from a bit of a storm, nothing happened. Went to bed very early, because tomorrow we get to Colombo in the early morning.*

25th October

*By the time breakfast was over, the ship had already sailed into Colombo harbour. Went to pick up my passport and hurriedly finished writing letters to Jiangnian and the family and went ashore. Because the ship was moored in the harbour and had not berthed alongside the quay, and since the shipping company's*

boat had already left, I had to pay five francs to take a launch ashore. Once there I [Page 8] bumped into some people from the ship and we hired a couple of cars to go around Colombo. Visited lots of places, including a park with an open-air swimming pool, a Buddhist temple ( the Buddhist statues in the temple were very well sculpted, unfortunately Europeanized, when we went in we had to take our shoes off), the Zoo, the Museum, but it was all very superficial. After we got back, posted the letters, already too late to eat on board ship, so ate at a dock-side Restaurant. After eating, went for a walk down the road, had a beer by myself. Came back to the ship and rested for a while, then went back on shore for a walk, had a coconut milk alone, strolled around and then went back on board. The ship sailed at nine o'clock.

26th — 30th October

These past five days there has been nothing to record, I've just been whiling away the lonely hours. The Indian Ocean has been very stormy, but at the moment it is completely calm, just like sailing along an inland waterway. Out at sea, apart from the blue and boundless ocean, there has been nothing to see; just occasionally there would be a few flying fish and flying fish-like seagulls circling the ship, but that was all.

31st October

Last night I had a stomach-ache, this morning

*I felt better already. After this I'll have to be careful what I eat.*

*At four o'clock in the afternoon there was a 'horse race' on board, it was just a kind of game.*

*After dinner looked at the new moon, the stars and silvery sea. Wrote to Jiangnian, Zhe[cun] and home.*

*Will arrive in Djibouti tomorrow.*

*Had my hair cut on board.*

[Page 9]

1st November 1932

*Arrived Djibouti at 11 a.m. . The ship was not able to dock. After we'd eaten lunch, we took a small motor launch (two francs each) ashore. From the dock went to the post office, sent my letters, and then strolled along the road. Djibouti was the worst place we've seen just walking along the streets. The weather was hot, the houses look dilapidated, the roads were full of mud, apart from the locals who stuck to us and refused to go away, there was no one about. We went for a walk around the place where the locals lived, but were driven back by the terrible stench. It was really filthy there, people and animals were all in together and the local people just did not care. One of the locals wanted to take us to see black women dancing naked; since it was a long way we came back to the ship.*

*At four p.m. the ship weighed anchor.*

*At nine in the evening there was a dance on*

board, I was so tired I didn't go.

2nd November

The weather was very hot, didn't feel like doing anything, spent the whole day on deck.

3rd November

In the evening there was a fancy dress ball, I went but found it very boring. I only danced once. Left very early and went to bed.

4th November

In the afternoon there was a gambling game that I went to see, and that was all I did.

5th November

At seven o'clock arrived Suez, the ship did not dock. Practically no one went ashore. Lots of hawkers came to sell local products, and there were some taking photographs. I sold [sic, i.e. bought] a Turkish fez, and put it on / [Page 10] to have my photograph taken.

At about two o'clock the ship set sail for Port Said, the ship progressed slowly through the Suez Canal, on both sides the yellow desert sand stretched as far as the eye could see. The letters I'd written to Jiangnian and the family, I posted on board ship.

6th November

I woke up at about five o'clock this morning, the ship had already arrived at Port Said. I got up at seven o'clock, ate breakfast and caught a small

motor boat ashore (13 francs), because the ship had not docked.

Port Said is a small place, but nevertheless very busy; after we got ashore we strolled up and down the main street and looked around. I think that apart from the fact that pornography is openly sold and that there is such a mixed population, the place has no special character. We walked around for three hours, bought a set of Vu [= picture postcards] in a bookshop and came back. After lunch went up on deck to see the hawkers peddling their wares, bought two packets of Egyptian cigarettes.

The weather suddenly became cooler and everyone changed their clothing.

7th November

To-day there was a bit of a storm. Afternoon, thought about translating Ayala because the first chapter is not yet finished.

Went to bed very early.

8th November [Last entry.]

As usual didn't do a thing all day. After dinner, drafted a telegram to send after arrival in Paris.

\*

## APPENDIX II

### LETTERS

[Page numbers of annotated translations in brackets.]

Etiemble to Dai Wangshu .....	407-438	[458-475]
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Paris 5 Rond Point Argeaud

XVI<sup>e</sup>

Cher camarade,

Vaillant Contre lui m'a communiqué  
votre lettre et votre article sur la littérature  
révolutionnaire. Parce que j'ai intérêt  
à la Chine et que j'apprécie le Chinois.  
Il m'a chargé de vous demander où :  
habitez-vous, à un meeting, on lira  
si possible des poèmes révolutionnaires chinois.  
Puis que vous avez proposé pour les uns  
des ~~autres~~ textes, voudriez-vous si vous savez  
le temps envoie à Vaillant un texte  
caractéristique de Ting. Liang.  
(Traduire pour le meeting le "Chien et de prisonniers

mais je n'ai pas assez de temps ici pour  
pouvoir chercher ailleurs. }

Merci donc - et s'en va fraternellement

Chien M.

R. Etienne

Fondation Thiers

5 Rond Point Bugnot  
Paris 16<sup>e</sup>



14 X 5

mon cher camarade,

Comme publiera en février un numéro  
plus spécialement consacré à la Chine -  
Si vous pouvez m'envoyer des traductions  
de textes assez courts et intéressants, elles  
seront les bienvenues.

Salutations fraternelles

Guérin

Paris le 18/1-74

*Service des  
Affaires  
Extérieures*

Cher camarade.

Grand merci de votre compte  
admirable. et très bien, très  
bien traduit. Il est certes pas  
trop tard et je suis ~~très~~  
~~très~~ sûr que ce texte passera  
dans le 2<sup>o</sup> de février -

Puis que vous me l'avez demandé  
je me suis permis quelques  
corrections. Vous reverrez, en l'issue  
Commune qu'elle ne sont pas  
homonymes.

Je préparerai moi-même une  
traduction d'un conte assez court  
de Ting Ling. Mais je dois aussi  
faire un article sur la

graphie chinoise dans ses rapports  
avec la révolution - voir une  
traduction du Chant des prison-  
niers et parcourir les revues  
de gauche pour faire un  
petit tableau du mouvement  
littéraire et révolutionnaire en Chine.  
Ce qui s'est tout fait à mon  
travail personnel me charge  
seulement.

Mais je vous demande de  
me traduire ~~une~~ <sup>mot à mot</sup> ~~recherche~~ et  
sans vous fatiguer à trouver le  
faux ce que je n'ai pas le  
temps de le faire. C'est à dire  
presque tout à fait ~~le~~ ~~le~~  
sens du dialogue, ce langage  
familier, n'est relativement  
difficile. Vous savez plus

de facilité, et moi je me  
chargerai de la mise en français  
l'obligation de traduire la première leçon  
sans 希望 dont je ne sais pas  
le sens précis, et l'expression: 調 調 調

Il suffit que j'aie ce papier  
pour le 30 janvier - tout nous  
rendriez grand service - et nous  
voudrions célébrer la mémoire de  
cette pauvre T'ing ling.

Si vous ne pouvez pas, je  
vous prie de me renvoyer aussitôt  
la revue et je ferai l'impossible  
pour traduire tout moi-même.

Très affectueusement

Edmond

Paris le 20/1/74

Cher camarade.

Excusez-moi de ne vous avoir pas  
remercié plus tôt; j'ai dû  
quitter Paris pour aller près de  
ma mère malade. J'ai bien  
reçu votre envoi; encore une fois,  
vous avez beaucoup aimé le  
français que vous ne le prétendez.

Le numéro de Commune de Journé  
doit paraître ce jour-ci. celui de  
février va donc être retardé.

Je sort demain tous les papiers  
à l'impression.

J'ai parlé à V.C. de projet  
de traduction. Pour moi je ne

demande qu'à travailler avec  
vous. Je pense que V-C s'en occupera  
d'ailleurs je lui en ferais  
vous en la tête et il trouvera  
un éditeur. Editha Smith in London  
par exemple.

Now en se parlons bien tôt.  
En attendant aussi pour la publication  
D'AER quand je serai qq-chose  
intéressant, je vous ferai passer.

Croyez moi bien sincèrement  
et bien fraternellement à vous

Editha M.



Paris 2 mai

Cher camarade -

Pardonnez moi. Je relève de maladie. Voilà pourquoi je vous ai si longtemps laissé sans nouvelles -

1°) Le conté que j'ai avec traduit "La Haine" est admiré par tout le monde -

2°) Je vous envoie un h.° de Commune &

3°) ————— | 2 h.° de l'Étudiant d'école part  
| 2 h.° de la Jeune révolution

(Cela pour que vous puissiez contrôler si tout vous arrive bien.)

Il fallait attendre la publication de Commune et l'effet produit par la Haine pour demander aux revues de prendre ~~les~~ autres contés. Je me charge de la Nouvelle Revue française ou j'écris de temps en temps g.g. notes - Écrivez directement à Jean Guéhenno

Rédacteur en chef de Europe 7 Place St Sulpice  
à Paris a fini de lui demander si, ayant lu  
la Larke, il est disposé à accepter les  
manuscrits d'autres contes. (Je suis en froid  
avec lui en ce moment pour un article sur  
Cyde. Je lui parle par 8 moi) —  
Les 2 autres sont les seuls qui paraîtront —  
Cai, totas, com mome et top pauore —.

Si les corrections que j'ai faites à la Harde  
vous plaisent, je serai très heureux de  
travailler avec vous à la publication  
du recueil — Je suis sûr que les Editions  
Socials Internationals de Schoel et Steele  
accepteront — sachant me l'a dit.  
Je le vois demain et lui en parlerai  
encore — vous pourrez donc vous mettre au  
travail et dès que g.g. chose sera prêt,  
j'envoie le texte chinois et avec votre  
traduction littérale. —

Alors, avec des chinois comme ~~ce~~,

Relay Mon Yeh, en ma 71st Ling, comme vous, la chose sera  
envoyé à l'éditeur et com prise chez nous. Très fraternellement à vous  
2 camarades



Paris -

herei, cher camarade, de votre lettre, j'ai  
été bien agréable de voir au chinois. (et  
vous êtes pas seul - mais vous êtes le seul  
que je connais) enfin affranchi du préjugé  
mandarinal.

J'ai demandé des L<sup>rs</sup> de bon mine à  
Arago - Il me les a promis, mais son éditeur  
l'éditeur est lent à obéir. Dès que je les  
aurai reçus je vous les enverrai.

Le cont de Khay mer yih a plu à  
la houlele Revue 1<sup>re</sup>. Le rédacteur en chef  
m'a dit que, si je voulais lui proposer  
un cont ou deux il était disposé à les lire  
pour voir s'il pourrait les publier.

De préférence choisissez un ou deux contes assez  
courts (pas plus longs que la faine)

et aussi parfaits, au point de vue littéraire,  
que possible. La N. R. F. n'étant pas un  
organe de combat, mais de littérature  
(assez large d'ailleurs, puisque j'y publie de  
temps en temps des romans) -

T'attends le conté de Mao. (Traduction et  
traduction.) Aragon m'a assuré que de nouvelles  
prendraient certainement notre anthologie, et  
qu'il se charge de la présenter lors que nous  
aurons mis au point 2 ou 3 contes.  
Proposez les changements que vous jugez  
dans la traduction de la Harpe -

Autre chose. Un canard de français, qui sait  
bien le chinois, et qui n'a aucun moyen d'existence  
serait heureux si nous pouvions lui adresser  
un ou deux contes qu'il puisse traduire (assez  
conté.) Nous pourrions aussi nous arranger, si  
vous voulez pour <sup>qu'il bépasse</sup> que dans l'anthologie il en  
~~soit~~ ~~un ou deux~~. Ça pourrait lui fournir

Il faut être quelque argent - et il en a besoin,  
lui aussi; comme tous ces L. de la rue.

Avez-vous lu le livre de Grasset sur le  
Pensé Chinoise ? J'en ai fait au com L. et rendu  
assez de dans le N. L. F. et j'aimerais, si  
c'était possible, avoir maintenant votre avis.

Très fraternellement à vous.

Henri

mon cher Paul;

Paulhan ne m'écrit que des contes  
 pour choisir; en voyez, je vous  
 envoie celles de J. G. T. H. H. H.  
 merci de contes pour mon camarade.

On peut pas de commune.

T'irai en ... nos amis au  
 de ces jours. Excusez moi.

Toujours à vous

Émile

Quar

Bon cher Tai, j'ai beaucoup aimé  
le temps que je porterai de main à Paulhan  
 avec une fois pendant la saison des pluies  
 (j'ai, comme on me l'avait demandé fait qq. vers corrections)  
 Je pense bien que le temps plaira à  
 l'hon. l'œuvre. Pour le cont de Mao Tse  
 j'ai commencé seulement hier à voir de près  
 le text. Pour ce temps j'étais prié par  
 un gros article sur malraux qui je  
 voudrais acheter avant le départ de Malraux  
 pour l'URSS. - Excusez moi donc; à partir  
 de la fin du mois, je pourrai m'y mettre se-  
 reusement et si vous m'envoyez d'autres  
 texts, je pense que nous aurons en octobre  
 assez de contes traduits pour présenter  
 notre travail à Noël ou E.S.I. ou M.R.  
 Mon ami, qui passe au examen de chinois

Et à moment - ne m'a pas encore envoyé  
la notice ? Je vous tiendrai au courant.

Après vous reçu Commune ? Je n'ai  
 pu vous en voyer que 2 ex. (en m'en  
 a donné 4 et je devois en ~~donner~~<sup>offrir</sup> un  
 à Louis Laloy, le seul professeur de chinois  
 ouvert aux idées nouvelles et à la (chi'ne)  
 révolutionnaire. (au suite au directeur des Langues Orientales)  
 Hier j'ai décidé avec lui  
 mon sujet de thèse: quelque chose comme  
 "La conte dans la littérature chinoise moderne"  
 Laloy fera l'ex. prochain, et si de  
 faculté mon travail, un cours sur  
 la question. - Naturellement je ne  
 connais aucune bibliographie française qui  
 puisse m'aider, je ne percherai, puis que  
 vous êtes compétent sur ces questions.  
 de vous demander si vous connaissez un  
 ou deux ouvrages chinois par les quel je

21

j'essaie d'amorcer mon étude: sont les belles pages  
 ont traversé d'instinct. Rien en l'air de l'idéal,  
 en particulier les auteurs révolutionnaires: l'abbé,  
 esprit lui ouvert et persuade que la  
 Chine ne peut se réaliser que par une  
 révolution de fauche et tout à fait  
 d'accord. Nous nous sommes aperçus qu'avec  
 les symboles parisiens l'idée de moi ten  
<sup>m</sup>  
~~la~~ entraînerait en des complications inévitables.  
 Le sujet est plus vivant, me tient à cœur.  
 J'y travaillerai avec enthousiasme, heureux  
 de pouvoir faire connaître en France la  
 vraie Chine artistique et montrer le Japon.  
 Merci.

A vous, les frères bien à vous

Guem

25. Ma amie a traduit la notice sur

difficulté de la porter demain à  
Paulsen et si l'œuvre se met l'œuvre  
pour le toucher.

Fraternité.



Bonjour à ~~la~~ Mère. Mayenne (Mayenne) ?

Merci à toi.

Encore souffrant pour le  
moment je t'embrasse de tout  
cœur et de tout. Je pourrais  
longue avec toi et que je serais  
en état. Je serai bien tôt de

---

Je t'embrasse de tout cœur. Je pourrais  
longue avec toi et de tout. Je pourrais  
longue avec toi et de tout. Je pourrais

Je t'embrasse de tout cœur.

Bonne nuit

Guillaume

Je t'embrasse de tout cœur. Je pourrais  
longue avec toi et de tout. Je pourrais

Paris - Jeudi

Cher Tati

Excusez-moi d'avoir tout tardé.

Jusqu'ici je n'ai pu travailler - mais je commence à reprendre de la forme. Malheureusement (ou au sens) je pars demain pour l'URSS. Une occasion inespérée me permet un voyage de 35 jours à des conditions exceptionnelles. Je ne pourrai donc me mettre au travail que le 15 septembre. Mais je resterai à Paris, à ce moment et n'aurai rien d'autre à faire que de travailler. L'histoire, ça ira donc assez vite. Tu pourras sans doute des contes. Paulhan m'a écrit pour me refuser des manuscrits mais il ne se prononce pas encore sur les contes. - Si le refus, nous pourrions <sup>en</sup> proposer à monde et à Commune et nous pourrions l'envoyer à Europe.

Politiquement pour le manuscrit que me refuse Paulhan, il y a mon travail sur les braves

Je le modifierai et le proposerai à l'ensemble  
à la rentrée en un ou deux temps que j'en prépare  
au pour la N. R. F. Je lui la passerai j'espère  
et répondra en quelque façon aux objections  
que vous formulez contre ma thèse, - objections  
dont la plupart me paraissent objectivement  
justifiées. - sinon esthétiquement.

Je vous remercie de tous les détails que vous  
me donnez sur la thèse chinoise, je le crain-  
drai qu'en octobre car j'ai pas encore en  
avec lequel la conversation décisive qui  
posera quel genre j'adopterais. J'espère  
en tous cas que mon goût me portera à  
l'étude du 傳奇 plutôt qu'à celle du 傳奇  
dans ce rapport.

Toutefois que vous écriviez votre article  
sur les beaux. Je suis sûr que la N. R. F. en ti-  
ra au plus au point par le porte-  
de l'opinion d'un chinois. Quant à l'ouvrage  
enrichi que je prépare sera prêt je vous

Cher ami et vous pouvez voir sous quel angle  
je considère pour la A.R.F. le problème de  
habitant. Pour moi je m'oppose, dans ce  
sens bourgeois, au litige l'idéologie bourgeoise  
dans la lutte de front. Peu importe un  
gauchisme ou tactique du marxisme. L'issue  
à bon sens recommande la simplicité, pourvu qu'elle  
soit justifiée par le développement à la cause.

Enfin ami, si vous plaît, à la Fondation  
qui fera suivre et surtout pardonner mon ce retard.  
Je mettrai en septembre les boucliers doubles.

Bien cordialement à vous, et  
fidèlement

Stéphane

[11]

FONDATION THIERS

5, ROND-POINT BUGEAUD

PARIS 16<sup>e</sup>

TEL.: PASSY 83-82

5

Cher camarade - Merci  
 de m'avoir écrit de L. et de m'avoir  
 répondu. Comme je vous  
 l'écris ci-dessus je vous  
 donne le 31 et 74 est jusqu'au 5.  
 Quand viendrez-vous ? L'écriture est ce qu'il y a  
 et est en russe; ne le lisez pas. Mais il  
 n'y a aucune que nous pouvons nous le dire sur  
 lui - nous pouvons voir Louis Koloy, ici les  
 autres, et lui demander une préface qui  
 nous donnera sûrement car, bien que la  
 vie de l'homme, il aime la chose de l'écriture.

L'œuvre et son fait en français.

Je plus nous choisissons définitivement le  
 texte à publier et pourrons circuler ensuite  
 d'une autre introduction.

~~Le fond~~ malheureusement je n'ai pu dire  
 pour l'instant et je n'ai pu encore faire  
 passer le texte. Vous m'excuserez.

J'attends l'écriture de votre

le jour.

Avec, cordialement et bien  
 fraternellement. R. E

Avez-vous vu Y. R. Bourgeois, que je vous  
 annonce?

## FONDATION THIERS

5, ROND-POINT BUGEAUD

PARIS 16<sup>e</sup>

TEL.: PASSY 63-82

Mon cher Paul, voilà la traduction  
de la La Fontaine par mon ami. Il sera peut-  
être à Paris pour que les deux autres aient le 20.  
Je pense que vous aurez vu ce livre -  
Je le vous envoie par les 2 autres cartes - Ce  
n'est pas la seule de Henri des deux de  
la 1<sup>re</sup> et des deux autres. J'ai donné  
à mon frère une commande intelligente et je  
sais qu'il a qui je pourrai en faire la.

Travail aussi je retournerai bientôt j'aurai un peu  
d'argent en poche. ce sera une façon discrète  
de l'aider. quand vous viendrez nous nous  
nous nous séparons sur le fait que je vous  
proposerai.

J'aurai vu la loi demandée (quand vous se-  
rez). / Je lui parlerai de la loi.

A bientôt et d'ici, cordialement

à vous

R. E.

mercredi soir

mon cher Tati.

Excusez mes abséances. Tati est un être malade et concité. Dans le moment je ne peux m'occuper de l'édition. car je n'ai pas un seul gros travail urgent pour la propagande. - mais je m'occupe de mettre au point divers détails des autres traductions.

L'absence de Bourgois, je ne l'ai plus. Je n'ai plus travaillé. mais ça le fait rien. C'est pas lui qui s'adonne avec nous. Bourgois voulait nous voir souvent pendant ~~notre~~ que nous étions en Espagne. pour le Rmt commun. Je ne sais pas où il est. Tati écrit. Des de réponse.

Quand serez vous ? Je vous proposerais sur le projet de préface. et quelques idées concernant la présentation du volume. Il se pourrait que nous ayons des choses à la N.R.F. - En tous cas j'ai les 100 francs que nous au directeur en chef. Il en est assez content et je pense qu'il sera très satisfait, car il ne prend pas de hâte, il comprendra bien tout ça. En tous cas je vous en remercie pour nos efforts.

long sous que sous la présidence de  
 M. Baux et de Valentin Comte, à S. R. I.  
 agende au Comité des Amis de la Chère?

à vous bien respectueusement.

Paul M.



mon cher Tai.

FONDATION THIERS  
5, ROND-POINT BUGEAUD  
PARIS 16<sup>e</sup>  
Tél.: PASSY 83-82

Reçu les com. tes. voici en  
bref à vos exp.

1°) La loi accept. de proposer  
notre travail

2°) L'Académie des Sciences, les  
en ARS m'a permis de fixer l'ordre  
(devoir m. S. - au D. F.) et par conséquent, ce  
point précis, de pouvoir obtenir, à l'issue  
de l'examen de ces traductions, - ayant pu nous  
faire nous-même quelques notes en ch. 1.  
Il en va de pouvoir nous en donner. Mais,

pour le moment du moins, ce n'est pas possible. Et  
je crains que nous ne soyons perdus et que l'on  
ait.

3°) Ne pas perdre de vue 10 mes. je ne peux  
plus travailler; je suis donc au repos complet  
pour 10 jours. Et vraiment de vous tout de  
mon travail à l'Académie.

4°) Le Comité des Sciences de la Chaire au 1<sup>er</sup>  
car on ne peut pas faire plus on a de la  
qui en est. Malheureusement, on doit à l'inst. la  
carac. de la "vie" au sein de la "vie".  
Mais de ces grandes choses, on ne peut pas en faire il



hence her Time;

Te vois au 'L'Éclair' pour me dire que  
tu serais à 21<sup>h</sup> Paris. Très fatigué je dois partir  
ce soir pour une nuitée; mais je te verrai  
pas sous ma queue. Je serai donc à Paris le 27.  
Écris-moi à la fin de la semaine vers le 28-29 pour me  
dire votre adresse à Paris, et la L<sup>re</sup> du téléphone  
je te passerai ici que quelques heures, avec mes  
probablement entre 10<sup>h</sup> et 17<sup>h</sup>. -

Religione aussi dans le ~~pro~~ maximum de  
31<sup>a</sup> Passy. 53. 82.

Reperce vos idées à l'K pour que nous  
de fusions chacun pl.

2 1011 Ger. 12. 12. 12. 12. 12.

Eine mH

Jamedi 5-1-24.

Mon cher Tai:

Louis Caloy nous attend lundi  
vers 3 heures à son bureau de  
l'Opéra. Attendez moi (3 heures)  
à l'arrêt de l'autobus 15. 16 et 17  
derrière l'Opéra.

A vous. Bien sympathiquement.

Edmond

Kan cher Tai:

Je vous attendrai mardi  
vers midi 30 devant la  
Place du Luxembourg, (près  
du Jardin du même nom)  
Pour de futures rencontres  
J'aurai q. q. choses nouvelles  
à vous dire.

Cordialement à vous

Stemml

FONDATION THIERS  
5, ROND-POINT BUGEAUD  
PARIS 16<sup>e</sup>  
TEL.: PASSY 63-82

Mardi

5 Mon cher Tai

Te vois ai attendu jusqu'à midi  
50 à la gare du Luxembourg.  
Avez-vous reçu ma lettre? Êtes-  
vous malade? Écrivez-moi vite  
vous prie-à mrs. Etienne H

Lyon ce Dimanche

Cher Monsieur Tai

J'aurai les poèmes de Locken vers la fin  
de la semaine - Je m'attendais pas  
au Foyer avant du mois prochain car je  
ne pouvois m'y rendre -

J'ai réfléchi à votre projet ~~et~~  
maison d'édition à Chang-Hai. Pourquoi  
n'y joindriez vous pas une galerie de  
peinture moderne. Il serait très facile  
d'avoir en dépôt des toiles des principaux  
Artistes de notre temps. Le musée moderne  
de Grenoble a été constitué uniquement avec  
des donations. La peinture, comme la littérature,  
est révélatrice d'une civilisation . . . .

Bien amicalement à vous

Yves F. Duperray.

25 dec.

Cher monsieur Tâi

L'abbé Monchaux étant un  
peu fatigué ne partira que dans quelques  
jours - Nous ne descendrons pas

Chez Camille Drevet - Demain  
matin en arrivant à Paris je vous  
enverrai un mot pour vous donner  
un rendez vous.

Je joins une lettre à M<sup>r</sup> Lebey pour  
M<sup>r</sup> L.

Proposé bien de votre séjour -  
Paris est actuellement le centre  
artistique du monde.

Mes amitiés à tous deux.

Abbé V<sup>e</sup> Duperré

P.S. Je vous de lire de la Revue  
de Paris (15 sept. 1934) un  
bon article de Carré sur la littérature  
espagnole.





PARIS, le \_\_\_\_\_ 193

Jeudi

-Cher Monsieur Tati

Poulez vous que nous nous trouvions  
demain vendredi, au Louvre  
à 10 h. — à l'entrée de la Salle  
Henri II. Je donne rendez vous à  
M<sup>lle</sup> Monchassin - Je nous réunis  
ensemble de la peinture et nous  
causerons —

Bien avec M<sup>lle</sup> L. — Bien amicalement

Robt E. Duperray.



Lyon. 27. Rue de Condé

Ce 11 janvier

Cher monsieur Tâi

Ce simple mot pour que vous ayez suffisamment à temps l'introduction chez Dupuvelle -  
A votre retour nous parlerons de la Revue.

Bien à vous amicalement

Abbé E. Dupuy

J. Dupuvelle

47 Boulevard Larive



ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA

Madrid 17 de Mayo de 1934.

Sr D. Van-chou Tai.

Mi distinguido señor: Agradezco mucho su amable y cordialísima carta. Con verdadera emoción la he leído; y desde luego, agradeciendo profundamente sus palabras, le concedo autorización gratuita para que pueda publicar como le plazca mi libro Una hora de España, que tiene ya traducido.

Admiradores como usted, tan finos y cultos, de la literatura española son muy de agradecer. Me siento conmovido al ver que el idioma y las letras de España son por usted tan apreciadas.

Con toda cordialidad le saluda,

*Azorín*  
Azorín.

LES ÉDITIONS  
RIEDER

7, PL. ST-SULPICE  
PARIS-VI



# EUROPE

TÉL.: DANTON 57-40

CHÈQ. POST. 330-77

Revue mensuelle

Paris, le 10 Août 1934

Monsieur,

Nous auris et moi avons le avec plaisir  
vos lettres. Malheureusement nous ne  
pouvons faire à la fois ce qui nous plait  
infinitement réduite, pressis et plus en plus  
par l'irrigation. Avec nos regards,  
agré - p vous prie, l'expression de nos  
sentiments, le meilleur.

Yveline

# les cahiers du sud

REVUE MENSUELLE DE LITTÉRATURE

Chèques Postaux: MARSEILLE 137-45

Téléph.: Dragon 38-63.



10, Cours du Vieux-Port — MARSEILLE

Le 29 Octobre 1934

Monsieur LAI VAN CHOU  
Fort Saint Irénée  
LYON (Rhône)

Monsieur,

Notre comité a lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt les poèmes que vous lui avez soumis et, sur ma proposition, a accepté d'insérer dans les CAHIERS DU SUD les poèmes intitulés :

- LE VOYAGEUR (si vous acceptez la suppression des trois derniers vers, le poème paraissant se terminer beaucoup mieux sur : "N'a-t-il pas une compagne plus charmante que les roses ?")

- NOCTURBULE - LE JARDIN CLOS - DEMODÉ - TROIS BENEDICTINES - REGRETS -

soit Six poèmes qui formeraient un ensemble très harmonieux.

Faites nous connaître vos intentions, nous tenons en réserve votre manuscrit jusqu'à là.

Croyez, Monsieur, à l'assurance de ma parfaite considération.

Jean BALLARD  
Directeur des CAHIERS DU SUD

# NOIR ET BLANC

BI HEBDOMADAIRE ILLUSTRÉ  
DU DIMANCHE ET DU JEUDI

dirigé par  
PIERRE BENOIT ROLAND DORGELES  
de l'Académie Française de l'Académie Goncourt

Paris, le 15 Novembre 1934.

Monsieur Tai Tchao-chen,  
Institut Franco-chinois  
St-Just, Lyon (Rhône).

Monsieur,

Malgré les qualités que présente la traduction  
du conte de Sze Tche-tsuen, intitulé "La lune automnale"  
que vous avez bien voulu nous proposer pour "Noir et Blanc",  
nous ne voyons malheureusement pas la possibilité de le  
retenir, en raison de la grande quantité de contes et  
nouvelles que nous avons déjà acceptés. Nous sommes donc  
obligés de vous retourner votre manuscrit sous ce pli.

Avec nos regrets, veuillez trouver ici,  
Monsieur, l'assurance de nos sentiments distingués.

Le Secrétaire de Rédaction:

*Luigi Lucrezi*

4805 - 11<sup>th</sup> Ave  
Brooklyn N.Y.

My dear Tai Van Chou —

It was nice of you to remember me for the New Year. I wanted to send you one of my cards at Xmas time but knowing that you were leaving Paris I didn't send it. I will endow it now with my best wishes.

I envy your being in France so long and I do hope you are writing a lot.

My sojourn in England was a delight and a beautiful one indeed. I visited Constance Garnett and she told me that some Chinese scholars sent her a letter of thanks for her translations from

the Russian as it helped  
them to understand the Russian  
point of view a lot more.

Tell me have you heard  
from Kwei. I have not.  
I do hope he is well. So  
much has happened in China  
recently. My best wishes  
to you and I hope you  
come to America sometime.

Sincerely  
Leslie Hirschowitz  
(Lee Hager)

P.S. Excuse my writing in  
English but it is much  
easier for me.

[Monsieur Tai Tchao-Chen,  
Institut Franco-chinois,  
St. Just, Lyon.  
Postmark: Yonkers, New York. 29 January, 1934.]



4805 - 11<sup>th</sup> Ave  
Brooklyn N.Y.  
U.S.A

Dear Mr. Tao Van Sou —

I'm very glad to receive  
your letter. I shall be delighted  
to make the Ex Libris for you.  
At present I am ill with a  
bad cold — but shall start  
on one for you as soon as  
I am better.

It pleases me very much  
to hear you are going to Spain  
and enjoying Europe. Artists  
can always find pleasure in  
the beauty of new places and  
the true meaning of that beauty.  
If the world would only listen to  
the artists sometimes we would  
have so much more understanding  
of the things that matter.

no word from Kwei —  
 I shall close now and  
 my kindest regards to  
 you et la bonne chance.

Sincerely  
 Leslie Huckowitz

[Mr. Tai Tchao-chen,  
 Institut Franco-chinois,  
 St. Just,  
 Lyon.]

Postmark: Grand Central Station, New York. 8 march 1934.]

\*

[Note: It has proven impossible to establish the identity, or sex, of Lee Hagen / Leslie Huckowitz. Evidently, he or she had known Dai in France.]

能致吾女。三月三日發自北平（吳曉鈴代述）想已收到。三月四日又收到你的三月一日來書，知道你們關心望舒的後事，我心裡雖然非常感傷，但是覺得安慰。

關於大果和二果的事，養教院等事，整個由政府負責，一直到他們能夠自立，現在他們已經是國立的樣子了，任何人都不能強迫回，所以，沒有什麼問題。大果現在華北小學六年級讀書，住在學校裡。二果原在托兒所裡。人民政府這樣與我們，你們要放心，要感謝！關於我自己的事情，也是政府負責，我願意住在北平，可以就近照顧兩個孩子。不過，我想，等到望舒的後事完全清了之後，去上海暫住幾天，整理整理她的遺物，然後再回北平來，等我回去的時候確定了，必去通知你們。

今天上午八時至十二時，全國女聯、全國新聞界聯合主持了一個隆重的追悼會，由陳永衡部長，和胡喬木、俞冠華兩位先生主持，參加的有：沈部長，胡喬木同志，孫曉村先生，羅莘田教授，沈崇英教授，劉尊楷同志，徐遲、謝望舒的詩，到我的朋友有六七百人，著名的好有：鄭振鐸、吳舍、沈從文、馮至、葉聖陶、丁玲、艾蕪、魏建中、蕭乾、沈從文、郭麟、金支本、方三、陳士之、馬至、鄧希三、孫政、陳華等許多人。送喪品有政府各機關，有郭沫若、曹武、馬敘倫、陸定一等。樂隊是政府派來的，十分風光。七日下午一時，得由政府公費於北平西四的萬安公墓，墓穴距離本大創生烈士墓近，風景極佳。環境極佳。安葬之後，再寄信通知你們。

我目前住在望舒好友吳曉鈴家，等一等政府自有安排。來信可寄北京西二武門外，望舒家，二十一號，要寄七號。我每月吃住由政府發送一箱三十斤小米（本月每月一斤二角五分，共金廿五萬六千七百八元），你們可以隨意給或重寄用即可。

大果的母親寄了一封信來，內容很不合理，所以不回信了。大果不愛寫信，也不太說話，你們要寫信勸她，楊都開，我還有信。你們身體如何？我十分惦念！望舒死後，你也是我唯一的教人，務要保重，為要！大果和二果由你照管，也不分煩了。

新潮書店的沈從文經理，現在上海，請他整理一下望舒在望舒遺稿，交沈從文先生整理。此間還要編印他的遺集。沈從文又要出一個紀念集，希望沈從文等在這太忙。文章由沈從文先生處，望舒的書請出。沈從文千萬不要賣，聽候辦法。

母字一九五〇.三.五

（吳曉鈴代筆）

好！

那時候，到平邑以後，一封信沒有寄給你。一封，  
正忙心緒也待信之少遲解以吧。然一信叮囑已快。  
現在忘記了，但是想來你應忘記如別一個好親的  
地方，每逢到一些快樂的事，忽然想到你，心裏酸，  
果實上這是一如啊！一星期上星期日由我思以  
為零，暫時不記得你了。從上船起一星期上星期日  
過了一個月中，好像手沒在提到你一個字，因為  
許多愉快安得她高興——一切了是，五上星期日她  
打了院痛針去反感而竟忘覺然的吵嚷地竟大聲  
嘶啞。一談話你作文章要緊家無頂蓋解脫越曉更  
是！山東法政學院臨沂一地一個月以前傳聞所居。  
心煩使我眼淚充塞眼眶而去真的，你為什麼能同他  
怕現你為什麼會生此人的物？……  
了是不至沈山半威儀佛法上地我的下任  
的性而生非的也明大然一度到晚七九點鐘才  
廟上船後，我的真像變壞多了。我和二型十人所  
一部紅毛油（女書）與何際望的有能  
月般很舒暢於善通經的運世般大某向也已  
我們然後的程的程支在那裏雖然食也不錯而且  
答：有酒喝，在海上降了一美一二天有霜外一時風

20x20 2B-400



平津線，船上的人，除大客（外，一個字船也沒  
有。二月十七晨，拉到了大沽口，可是並沒有多大  
上岸，因為從北平派來接我們的人一直到十八日  
下午才來，小輪船來接我們，我們的船太大了，不  
能一直開天津。那天晚上，船到了塘沽，宿在海關  
的旅館。余嘉受看降雪的，很佳，第二天十九日，塘沽公  
安局接來電報，才上，才為我們而停的電車，十二  
時到天津，市政府又派車，途中點鐘，我們休息，一  
小時在四時到了，即去明報，明報在  
彼處，日本人也來，我們接報，佳所，白，勝，利，後，民，安，華  
王，做，勵，志，和，次，在，次，反，對，在，全，土，做，的，時，人  
士，的，地，方，不，如，地，方，在，本，土，回，館，有，大，但，比，所  
三，房，更，厚，種，也，多，事，由，我，住，在，廿，一，之，全，在，最  
如，的，一，間，有，書，廳，則，在，路，室，此，藏，廿，四，向，上，而，精  
備，房，中，有，書，法，十，分，便，在，軍，訓，時，代，據，沈，之，重  
創，重，修，早，修，的，而，北，平，解，放，後，大，民，政，府，副，市，長，雖  
以，中，心，人，生，意，意，了，再，是，歷，史，想，的，序，向，了，此，中  
有，兩，所，以，次，床，和，一，半，小，睡，在，果，然，有，睡，一，間，一  
上，且，且，其，心，妙，上，建，中，法，全，止，然，也，則，其，和，也  
天，二，分，化，高，照，照，全，得，不，得，亦，或，亦，在，一，樣，地







到新的工作崗位上，不再感到舒適有內容了。  
 除了我希望仍能帶着孩子，可是事情<sup>並</sup>妙到那時  
 再說政府的托兒所是很好的，外些同志的孩兒們  
 都是紅、腫、的，恐怕比我容易好得。

此所望也。和氣到惠如國去阮博朋友也。現  
山本等奉大君因爲左邊後事，所以は所去。

——飲料佔回位來時<sup>時</sup>第一卷不佔史已第一(什)的  
佔的位<sup>位</sup>不是客下<sup>下</sup>到地<sup>地</sup>地<sup>地</sup>如：「北平宣武門外  
校場頭<sup>頭</sup>佔廿一<sup>一</sup>是<sup>是</sup>錢<sup>錢</sup>先生<sup>生</sup>的」。

	位	6	冰	5	如	何	到	17	20	去	波	利	上	16	去	呢	3
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是日... 雲然記

似乎也不大现实。如果从国内的情况来看，

主病了如指掌人心亦安

相連的，這個人特別為他一個有用的，有無限前途。

例 2 求  $\sin \frac{\pi}{4}$  与  $\cos \frac{\pi}{4}$  的值。

行船往來  
 子為仁  
 行船往來  
 子為仁

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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[illegible][illegible]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100
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這事後決定。母親決計讓她去。……上海人……因此她……

二、三已長了不小，去年的夏天已長了，在廟裏代念的時候，她……

多一個月，現在在學堂裏，每天……

她不……

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LETTERS FROM ETIEMBLE

1

Paris 5 Rond Point Bugeaud  
XVIIe

Dear Comrade,

Vaillant-Couturier has informed me of your letter and your article about revolutionary literature, since I am interested in China and I am learning Chinese. He has requested me to put to you the following: next Tuesday, we'll read, if possible, some works by Chinese writers at a meeting. As you are proposing to translate some texts, would you like to send to Vaillant a characteristic text by Ding Ling.

(I'm translating "The Prisoner's Song" for this meeting, but don't have enough time before Tuesday to look for anything else.)

So thank you - fraternally yours,

Etiemble

R. Etiemble,

Fondation Thiers,

5 Rond Point Bugeaud,

Paris 16e.

[M. Tai Van Chou

Institut franco-chinois

St. Irenée,

Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 30 November 1933.]

[Note: The translations mentioned in this and subsequent letters may be found in Etiemble's *Quarante ans de*

*mon maoïsme (1934-1974), in which Etienne comments on his activities at this time.]*

\*

2

14th December

*My dear Comrade,*

*Commune will publish an issue more particularly devoted to China, in February. If you could send me translations of some quite short and interesting texts, they would be welcome.*

*Fraternal regards,*

*Etienne*

[M. Tai van chou

Institut franco-chinois

St. Irénée

LYON

Postmark: Paris, 14 December 1933.]

\*

3

*Paris, 18/1/34*

*Last minute - the story  
will get in. [In pencil.]*

*Dear Comrade,*

*Thanks a lot for your admirable story, very, very well translated. It is certainly not too late and I am almost ['almost' is crossed through in pencil] certain that the text will get into the February issue. Since you asked me to, I allowed myself to make a few corrections. You'll see, when you read Commune that there aren't many.*

*I myself was doing a translation of a rather short story by Ding Ling, but I also must write an*

article about Chinese characters and their relationship to the revolution [sic], revise my translation of *The Prisoner's Song* and go through left-wing magazines to make a chart of the revolutionary literary movement in China, which on top of my own work is a considerable burden.

May I ask you to translate word for word and without bothering to polish the French, all that I do not have the time to complete, that is to say, almost all the story *無題* [by Ding Ling]. The meaning of the dialogue in the colloquial language, is quite difficult for me. It will be easier for you, and I'll turn it into good French. ( No need to translate the first half-page except for *弄堂* the exact meaning of which I don't know and the expression: *泗州調*.)

If I have it by 30 January, that will be soon enough - it would be a great help- and we should like to celebrate the memory of this poor Ding Ling. [Ding Ling had been imprisoned in Nanking, and was for some time assumed dead. She escaped in 1936.]

If you are unable to do it , please send back the magazine straightaway and I'll do my best to translate the whole thing myself.

Fraternally,

Etiemble

[Monsieur Tai Van-chou  
Institut franco-chinois

Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 22 January 1934.]

\*

Paris, 20/2/34

Dear Comrade,

Please accept my apologies for not thanking you sooner; I had to leave Paris to visit my sick mother. I received your translation; once again, your French is far better than you claim. The January issue of Commune is due out in the next couple of days, therefore the February issue will be delayed!

Tomorrow I'm taking all the copy to the printer's.

I've spoken to V.C [Vaillant-Couturier] about the translation project. As for me, I'd be very happy to work with you. I think V.C. will take care of it, besides I'll remind him about it and probably he will find a publisher - Edition Sociales Internationales for example. [Dai and Etiemble were hoping to publish a collection of Chinese short stories but eventually were unsuccessful in their attempt to find a publisher.]

We'll talk of it again soon. All right also about the A.E.A.R. [Association des Ecrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires] publications, when I see something interesting, I'll pass it on to you.

Very sincerely and fraternally yours,

Etiemble

[M. Tai Van-chou

Institut franco-chinois

St. Just

LYON

Postmark: Paris, 21 February 1934.]

\*

Paris, 2nd May

Dear Comrade,

Please forgive me. I have only just recovered from an illness. That's the reason why I've left you without news for so long.

1) The story, "Hatred" [by Zhang Tianyi], that you translated is admired by everybody.

2) I am sending you an issue of Commune.

3) ————— | 2 nos. of l'Étudiant. d'avantgarde  
| 2 nos. of la Jeune révolution

(This is for you to check that everything gets to you all right.)

We had to wait for the publication of Commune and for the reaction to Hatred, before asking the magazines to take the other stories. I shall approach the Nouvelle Revue Française for which I write bits and pieces occasionally. Write directly to Jean Guéhenno, editor of Europe, 7 Place St. Sulpice in Paris asking him if having read Hatred he would be willing to accept the manuscripts of other stories. (I am not on good terms with him at the moment because of an article about Gide. Don't mention my name.)

These two magazines are the only ones which will pay. Because, unfortunately, Commune is too poor.

If you like the corrections I've made to Hatred, I should be very happy to work with you towards the publication of the collection. I am sure that either Editions Sociales Internationales or Denoël et Steele will accept. Vaillant told me so. I shall see him tomorrow and speak to him about it again. Therefore you can start work and as soon as something is ready send me the Chinese text with your literal translation.

With Chinese like Zhang Tianyi, Ding Ling and you, China will be finally loved and understood here.

*Very fraternally yours,*

*Etiemble*

[Monsieur Tai Vanchou

Institut franco-chinois

St. Irénée

Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 3 May 1934.]

\*

6

*Paris.*

*Thank you, dear comrade, for your letter;  
I have really enjoyed seeing a Chinese ( and you are  
not the only one - but the only one I know) finally  
free of the prejudice of the mandarin.*

*I've asked Aragon for some issues of Commune.  
He's promised them to me, but the publisher is slow  
to respond. I'll send them to you as soon as I re-  
ceive them.*

*The Nouvelle Revue Française liked the Zhang  
Tianyi story. The editor told me that if I wanted  
to show him a story or two he would be willing to read  
them with a view to publishing them.*

*Preferably , choose one or two rather short  
stories ( not longer than Hatred) and as perfect, from  
the literary point of view, as possible. The Nouvelle  
Revue Française not being an organ of combat, but of  
dilletantism (broad enough, however, since I publish  
articles there from time to time).*

*I await the story by Mao Dun (text and trans-  
lation). Aragon assured me that Denoël et Steele will  
certainly accept our anthology and that he will take  
the responsibility of presenting it, once we have com-  
pleted two or three stories.*

*Let me know of the corrections that you find*

appropriate in the translation of Hatred.

Something else. A French comrade, who knows Chinese well, and who has no means of livelihood would be happy if you could send him one or two stories he could translate (quite short). We could also arrange, for them to be included, if you agree, in the anthology. This might fetch him a little money and he needs it, like many of us.

Have you read Granet's on "la Pensée Chinoise"? I wrote a stern review of it in the N.R.F. and I should like to have your opinion, if it were possible.

Very fraternally yours,

Etiemble

[Monsieur Tai Vanchou  
Institut franco-chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon  
Postmark: 22 may 1934.]

\*

7

My Dear Dai,

Paulhan [Essayist and critic, editor of Nouvelle Revue Française from 1925 to 1940, and later a non-communist member of the resistance organization, the Comité National des Ecrivains.] is asking me for some stories to choose from; please, send some of Shi Zhecun's. Thank you for the stories for my comrade. Still no Commune. I'll go and shout at the bug... our friends, one of these days. Sorry.

Yours as ever,

Etiemble



[Monsieur Tai Vanchou  
 Institut franco-chinois  
 St. Just  
Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 6 June 1934.]

\*

8

Monday

*My Dear Dai,*

*I liked The Vampire [ short story by Shi Zhecun] a lot and I shall take it personally to Paulhan tomorrow, together with An evening during the rainy season [ also by Shi Zhecun]. ( I made a few corrections, as you asked.)*

*I think The Vampire will please him if not the other. As for Mao Dun's story, I've only just started to have a close look at it. All this time I have been busy writing a long article on Malraux that I wanted to complete before Malraux leaves for the U.S.S.R.. Forgive me, then; from the end of the month I shall be able to apply myself seriously to the task, and if you send me some other texts I think we'll have enough stories translated by October to be able to present our work to Denoël or E.S.I. [Editions Sociales Internationales] or NRF [Nouvelle Revue Française]. My friend, who is taking an examination in Chinese at the moment, hasn't yet sent me The Patrol, I'll keep you informed.*

*Have you received Commune ? I could only send you two copies, because they only gave me four and I had to give to one to Louis Laloy, the only professor of Chinese open to new ideas and to revolutionary China ( another one to the director of the [Institut des] Langues Orientales). Yesterday I decided with him upon the subject of my thesis: something like*

"The Short Story in Modern Chinese Literature". Laloy will teach a course on it next year in order to help me with my work. Of course, I know of not one French bibliography which might help me; may I ask you, since you are knowledgeable about this subject, if you know of one or two Chinese books through which I could start my study : either bibliographical or a comprehensive work. I shall, of course, concentrate on revolutionary short story writers: Laloy who is very open-minded and convinced that China only has a future if there is a left-wing revolution, agrees completely. We realized that the study of Mozi with the Parisian sinologists would involve me in erudite complexities. This subject is more lively and closer to my heart. I shall work on it with enthusiasm, glad to be able to acquaint France with the authentic, moving and artistic China of to-day.

Yours very fraternally,

Etiemble

P.s. My friend has translated The Patrol with ease. I shall take it to Paulhan tomorrow and if he accepts it I shall send it to you for revision.

Fraternally.

[Monsieur Tai Vanchou  
Institut franco-chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon  
Postmark: 19 June 1934.]

3 quai de la République.  
Mayenne (Mayenne)

My Dear Dai,

Still suffering, for the moment I cannot complete the stories. I shall write to you at length as soon as I am well again. I am leaving soon and shall give you my address. Still no news about the stories. I'm awaiting a letter from Paulhan.

Yours very cordially,

Etiemble

I shall also talk to you about my thesis. Thank you.

[ Monsieur Tai Van chou  
Institut franco-chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon

Postmark: 18 July 1934.]

\*

Paris. Thursday

My Dear Dai,

Please forgive me for being so late. Until now I haven't been able to work, but now I'm starting to get better. Unfortunately (in a way) I am leaving for the U.S.S.R. tomorrow, an unexpected opportunity allows me a 35 day trip under exceptional conditions. I shall only be able to start working on 15 September. But I shall be staying in Paris at that time, with nothing else to do but work on the Chinese: so it will get done quite quickly. Still no news about the stories. Paulhan wrote rejecting some manuscripts of mine but said nothing about the stories yet. If he rejects them we could offer some of them to Monde [a

journal favourable to, but independent of, the Communist Party, edited by Barbusse] and to Commune and you will be able to write to Europe.

Among the manuscripts that Paulhan rejected is my work on Malraux, I shall modify it and offer it to Commune after the summer holidays while preparing one for the N.R.F. which I hope will be accepted and will answer somehow the objections you have against Malraux — objections which in the main seem to me objectively justified, if not aesthetically.

Thank you for all the details that you've given me about the putative thesis; I shan't be sure until October since I haven't had the decisive conversation with Laloy which will determine the genre I shall study. I think that in any case my taste will incline me to the study of 平話 rather than 傳奇, we'll speak of it again.

I hope that you write your article about Malraux. I am sure that the NRF will be most interested in the opinion of a Chinese. When the new article I'm working on is ready I'll send it to you and you'll be able to see from which angle I consider the problem of Malraux for the N.R.F.. For my part, I am doing my best, in the bourgeois journals, to shatter bourgeois ideology without a frontal attack. Never mind a tactical deviation of Marxism. Lenin always recommended flexibility as long as it is justified by devotion to the cause.

Please write to me at the Fondation [Thiers in Paris], they will forward, and above all forgive me this delay. I'll throw myself into it in September.

Very cordially and fraternally yours,

Etiemble

[M. Tai Vanchou

Institut franco-chinois

St. Just

Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 9 August 1934.]

\*

11

*Fondation Thiers*

*5, Rond-Point Bugeaud*

*PARIS (16e)*

*Dear Comrade,*

*I am very worried not to have received any reply. As I have told you before I am leaving for Toulouse on 31 and shall be there until 5 [November]. When are you coming? The annoying thing is that Aragon stayed in Russia; you will not see him but he assured me that we could rely on him. We shall be able to see Louis Laloy, very famous here, and ask him for a preface that he will probably certainly do for us, because although not a revolutionary himself, he loves revolutionary China, admires it, and wishes to see its triumph.*

*What's more we'll choose the texts for publication definitively, and shall be able to discuss a small introduction together.*

*Unfortunately I don't have a lot of money at the moment and I haven't been able to have the stories typed out. Do forgive me.*

*I'm looking forward to hearing when you are coming.*

*Yours very cordially and fraternally,*

*R.E.*

*Have you seen Y.R. Bourgeois whom I told you about.*

*[Dai Wangshu was in Spain during October 1934, which probably accounts for his delay in replying.]*

*[Monsieur Tai Van-chou*

Institut franco-chinois

St. Irénée

Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 28 October 1934.]

\*

12

Fondation Thiers

5 Rond-Point Bugeaud

PARIS (16e)

My Dear Dai,

Here is the translation of The Patrol by my friend. He will probably be in Paris for a few days around the twentieth. I think you'll be able to meet. I'm not sending you the two other stories. There's no need to waste money on postage or bother you. I met in Toulouse an intelligent but poor comrade to whom I could entrust the work when I return to see her: I shall have a bit of money in January; this would be a discreet way to help her. When you come we'll agree on the text that I'll give you.

I'm going to see Laloy on Sunday ( I've made an appointment with him). I'll talk to him about the preface.

See you soon then,  
Yours cordially,

R.E.

[Monsieur Tai Vanchou

Institut franco-chinois

St. Irénée

Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 13 November 1934.]

Wednesday evening

My Dear Dai,

Please forgive my silence. I have been ill and in bed again. For the moment I can't get on with Water [Short story by Ding Ling] because I have to do a large piece of urgent propaganda work. But I am polishing various points of other translations.

I don't have Bourgeois's address anymore, where he is now, but it doesn't matter. He is not the one who is translating with us. Bourgeois wanted to see you urgently while you were in Spain about the Common Front [probably the Spanish Popular Front of Communists and Socialists]. I don't know where he is. I've written. No reply.

When are you coming? I shall tell you about my proposal for a preface and a few ideas concerning the presentation of the volume. We might have a chance with N.R.F.. In any case I gave 100 pages of a novel to the editor-in-chief.. He is quite happy with it and I think that he'll take it, so, if he takes one book he'll take the others. In any case don't worry about my silence.

Do you know that under the presidency of Malraux, and Vaillant-Couturier, the S.R.I. is organising a Committee of the Friends of China?

Yours very fraternally,

Etiemble

[Monsieur Tai Vanchou  
Institut Franco Chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 5 December 1934.]

Fondation Thiers  
5 Rond-Point Bugeaud  
PARIS (16e)

My Dear Dai,

Received the stories. Here are my replies in brief.

1) Laloy has agreed to do the preface to our collection.

2) Aragon's absence, still in the U.S.S.R., is preventing me from obtaining a publisher (Denoël or E.S.I. or NRF) and consequently, which is quite serious, prevents me from obtaining, an advance for these translations, money which will be less useful when you are in China. If only I could advance you the money myself! But, for the moment at least, it's impossible. And I'm afraid you'll be gone before I have any.

3) Very tired for the last ten days, I can't work anymore; I'm leaving to have a rest for a fortnight on Friday. It is really annoying not to be able to work as one wishes.

4) The Committee of the Friends of China asked me to a meeting on Thursday: I'll tell you what it's about. Malraux told me this morning that in his opinion the character of this organization was a bit too intellectual. All the same it is under the *aegis* of the Comintern and is going to send a commission of inquiry there in 1935 to examine (and then denounce) the excesses of the Guomindang.

5) I hope you won't have left during my absence and that we'll see each other. Write to me here (they will forward).

Forgive me: I'll write to you.

Yours very fraternally,

Etiemble



[Monsieur Tai Van chou  
Institut Franco Chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 18 December 1934.]

\*

15

*My Dear Dai,*

*I sent you a telegram telling you that I shall be in Paris on 31. Very tired, I'm going away tonight for a week: but I don't want to miss you. So I'll be in Paris on 31. Write to me at the Fondation around 28-29 to tell me your address in Paris and the telephone number. I'll only be here for a few hours, with you, probably from 10 o'clock to 5 o'clock.*

*Please also phone on the morning of 31: Passy 53-82.*

*I hope to arrive early enough for us to have lunch together.*

*Yours very fraternally,*

*Etiemble*

[Monsieur Tai  
Institut franco chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 21 December 1934.]

\*

16

*Saturday 5.1.34  
[sic = 5.1.35]*

*My Dear Dai,*

*Louis Laloy will see us on Monday around 3 o'clock at his office near the Opera. Wait for me*

(at 3 o'clock) at the numbers 15, 16 and 17 bus stop  
behind the Opera.

Yours very affectionally,  
Etiemble

[Monsieur Tai

c/o M. Chen

48 Rue Daguerre

14e

Postmark: Paris, 5 January 1935.]

\*

17

My Dear Dai,

I'll wait for you on Tuesday around 12.30  
in front of the Gare du Luxembourg, (near the gardens  
of the same name). We'll have lunch together and  
I'll have a few new things to tell you!

Cordially yours,  
Etiemble

[Monsieur Tai

c/o M. Chen

48 Rue Daguerre

14e

Postmark: Paris, 14 January 1935.]

\*

18

Fondation Thiers  
5, Rond-Point Bugeaud  
PARIS (16e)

Tuesday

My Dear Dai,

I waited for you until 12.50 at the Gare du

*Luxembourg. Did you receive my letter? Are you  
ill? Let me know quickly.*

*Yours,*

*Etiemble*

[Monsieur Tai

c/o M.Chen

48 Rue Daguerre

14eme

Postmark: Paris, 15 January 1935.]

LETTERS FROM ABBE DUPERRAY

1

*Lyons, Sunday*

*Dear Mr. Dai,*

*I shall have Cocteau's poems towards the end of the week. Don't expect me at the Foyer because I won't be able to get there before next Monday.*

*I've been thinking about your plans for a publishing house in Shanghai. Why don't you add a gallery for modern paintings to it. It would be very easy to have in stock paintings by the principal artists of our time. The modern museum in Grenoble has been established purely by donations. Painting, like literature, reveals much about a civilization....*

*Yours truly,*

*Abbé E. Duperray*

[Monsieur Tai - Tchao-chen,  
Institut franco-chinois  
Fort St. Irénée  
Lyon

Postmark: Lyon, 19 December 1934.]

[Note: According to Luo Dagang, Duperray was as interested in painting as he was in literature which he discussed at length with both Dai and Luo.]

\*

25th December

Dear Mr. Dai,

Abbé Monchanin being very tired won't be leaving for a few days yet. We won't stop at Camille Drevet's. Tomorrow morning on arrival in Paris I shall send you a note arranging to meet you.

Please find enclosed a letter for Mr. Lo [Luo Dagang ?] to Mr. Laloy.

Enjoy your trip. Paris is the artistic centre of the world nowadays.

My kind regards to both of you,

Abbé E. Duperray

P.S. I've just been reading in the *Revue de paris* (19 September 1934) a good article by Cassou on Spanish literature.

[Monsieur Tai Tchao-chen

c/o Monsieur Chen-Shih-Wen

48 Rue Daguerre

Paris 14e

Postmark: Paris, 26 december 1934.]

[This letter, written probably in Lyons but posted in Paris, is evidently intended for both Luo Dagang and Dai. This is probably the occasion, Luo has referred to, when the two room-mates went to Paris together.]

\*

3

*Café-Bar L'Aurore*

3, Rue La Boétie

PARIS 8e

Thursday

Dear Mr. Dai,

Shall we meet tomorrow, Friday, at the Louvre,

at ten o'clock, at the entrance to the Henri II Room.  
I'll tell Mr. Monchanin. We'll go and see the paintings together and we'll talk.

Bring Mr. Lo.

Yours truly,

Abbé E. Duperray

[Pneumatique (Same day delivery: Express letter transmitted by pneumatic tube.)

Monsieur Tai Tch'ao-chen

c/o M. Chen Shi-Wen

48 Rue Daguerre

Paris 14e

Postmark: Paris, 27 December 1934.]

\*

4

27 Rue de Condé  
Lyons

11th January

Dear Mr. Dai,

Just a line for you to get to see Supervielle in time. When you're back we'll talk about the Revue.

Yours truly,

Abbé E. Duperray

J. Supervielle

47 Boulevard Laune

[Monsieur Tai Van-Chou

c/o Monsieur Chen-Shi-Wen

48 Rue Daguerre

Paris XIV

Postmark: Lyons. No date; probably 11 January 1935.]

LETTER FROM AZORIN

ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA  
(Spanish Academy)

Madrid 17th May 1934

My Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your most friendly and cordial letter. I was truly moved on reading it, and so, thanking you for what you have said, I agree to offer you the rights, without charge, to enable you to publish as you wish my book Una hora de España (An hour in the life of Spain), which you have already translated.

Admirers of Spanish literature, as refined and cultured as you, are much appreciated. I am heartened to see that the language and literature of Spain are so much appreciated by you.

Yours very cordially,

Azorin

[Mr. Van-chou Tai  
fort saint Irene  
Saint Just  
LYON  
France  
Postmark: 17 May 1934.]

[Note: Dai Wangshu had already translated several of Azorin's short stories and continued to do so for many years. Azorin (1894-1967) was a prominent member of the Generation of 1898 along with Baroja and Unamuno. The main characteristic of the Generation was a kind of intellectualized pessimism. Azorin's early preoccupation was with the theme of time, as displayed in *Un hora de España* (1924) which Dai had already published in *Xiandai* (1, 1 & 2: May & June 1932).

LETTERS FROM FRENCH PUBLISHERS

1

*EUROPE*

*Les Editions Rieder*

*7 Place St. Sulpice*

*PARIS VIe*

*Paris, 20th August 1934.*

*Sir,*

*My friends and I have read your poems with great pleasure. Unfortunately we can only devote a small amount of space to poetry, squeezed more and more by the current situation.*

*With our regrets,*

*Yours faithfully,*

*Guéhenno*

[Monsieur Tai-Van-Chou  
Institut franco-chinois  
St. Just  
Lyon

Postmark: Paris, 20 August 1934.]

[Note: Guéhenno, editor of *Europe*, mentioned by Etienne in his letter (No.7) to Dai, advising him to which magazines he should submit translations. The poems here referred to were French versions of Dai's own poems.]

\*



*Les Cahiers du Sud*  
 10, Cours du Vieux-Port  
 MARSEILLE  
 29th October, 1934.

*Sir,*

*Our committee has read the poems you submitted with great interest and, at my suggestion, has accepted for inclusion in CAHIERS DU SUD, the poems entitled:*

*-LE VOYAGEUR (if you accept the deletion of the last three lines, the poem seems to end much better on: "N'a-t-il pas une compagne plus charmante que les roses?"*

*-NOCTAMBULE - LE JARDIN CLOS - DEMODE - TROIS  
 .BENEDICTIONS - REGRETS*

*being six poems which would go very well together.*

*Please inform us of your intentions; we shall keep your manuscript until then.*

*Yours faithfully,*

*Jean Ballard,*

*Editor, Cahiers du Sud*

[Monsieur TAI VAN CHOU

Fort Saint Irénée

LYON

Postmark: Marseille, 29 October 1934.]

[Note: The six poems mentioned were indeed eventually published in the March 1935 issue of the magazine (see Appendix 4) with the suggested deletions. The poems were also published—in French—as an appendix to the volume *Wangshu shigao*.]

NOIR ET BLANC

22-24, Rue Huyghens,

PARIS (XIVe)

Paris, 15th November 1934.

Sir,

Despite the quality of the translation of the story by Shi Zhecun, entitled "Autumn moon" that you kindly offered to "Noir et Blanc", we are unfortunately unable to use it, owing to the large number of stories and short stories that we have already accepted. We are therefore obliged to return your manuscript which is enclosed.

With regret,

Yours faithfully,

Editorial Secretary

[Monsieur TAI TCHAO-CHEN,

Institut Franco-chnois,

St. Just,

LYON

Postmark: Paris, 16 November 1934.]

\*

LETTER FROM DAI WANGSHU'S MOTHER

TO DAI LUMEI, HER DAUGHTER

[This letter, penned by Wu Xiaoling on behalf of Dai Wangshu's mother, was written for the benefit of Dai's sister, still living in Jiangsu, and explains the funeral arrangements and his relatives' circumstances. It was preserved by Prof. Wu Xiaoling who gave me access to the original, enabling me to make the copy presented here.]

*My dear daughter, Lumei,*

*I think that you will have received my express letter of 3 March (written for me by Wu Xiaoling) by now. On 4 March we received your letter of 1 March, and know that you are concerned about Wangshu's funeral affairs, although my heart is full of grief, I am receiving much consolation.*

*As for Da Duoduo and Er Duoduo's [Dai Wangshu's daughters] affairs, their upbringing and everything else, it will all be taken care of by the government, until they can look after themselves; right now they are already children of the State, no one at all can claim them back, so there is no problem. Da duoduo is now in the sixth year of North China Primary School and lives at the school. Er Duoduo is at nursery school. Since the People's Government is looking after us like this, you need not worry, and can be thankful!*

*As for my own situation, it is also the government which is supporting me. I want to stay in Peking, to be able to be near to the two children and look after them. However, after Wangshu's funeral affairs are over, I'll go to Shanghai for a few days to sort out his personal effects, and then return to Peking.*

When I know for certain when I'm coming, I'll be sure to let you know.

This morning from half past ...[Chinese illegible] to 12 noon, the All China Writers' and Artists' Union and the International News Bureau jointly held a solemn memorial service, officiated over by Minister Shen Yanbing, assisted by Hu Qiaomu and Qiao Guanhua. Those who spoke included Minister Shen, Comrade Hu Qiaomu, Mr. Sun Xiaocun, Professor Luo Changpei, Professor Shen Yuji, Comrade Liu Zunqi. Xu Chi recited Wangshu's poetry. Six or seven hundred friends came, among the famous were: Zheng Zhenduo, Lao She, Ai Qing, Yuan Shuipai, Feng Yidai, Ye Jianyu, Chang Renxia, Ding Ling, Wen Huaixia, Wei Jiangong, Xiao Qian, Huang Wu, Guo Linge, Jin Kemu, Bian Zhilin, Chen Zhanyuan, Feng Zhi, Deng Musan, Zhang Zhenglang, Fu Xihua and many others. Offering their condolences were all organs of government, Guo Moruo, Jin Biwu, Ma Xulun, Lu Dingyi and others. The orchestra was sent by the government. It was very impressive. At one o'clock on the seventh [of March] there will be an official government funeral at Wan'an Cemetery in Peking's Western Hills.\* The grave is near that of the martyr Li Dazhao! The scenery is beautiful and the surroundings pleasant. After the funeral I'll write to you again to tell you more.

At present I am living in the home of Wangshu's good friend, Mr. Wu Xiaoling. Shortly the government will give me my own place. For the moment you can write to 21, Jiaochang tou tiao, Xuanwumenwai, Peking, c/o Mr. Wu. As for my monthly living expenses, the government gives me 130 pounds of millet (this month it costs 1,590 dollars a pound, which adds up to 206,700 dollars). You may give me a little pocket money for now if you wish.

Da Duoduo's mother [Dai's first wife, Mu Lijuan] wrote me a letter, and since what she wrote was

very unreasonable, I'm not replying. Da Duoduo does not like writing letters, and doesn't pay much attention, you should write to her and encourage her. Yang Jing [Yang Lizheng, Dai's second wife] has also written to me.<sup>§</sup> How is your health? I am constantly thinking about you. Now that Wangshu is dead, you are my sole relative, be sure to take good care of yourself, that's the important thing. Please tell my big granddaughter how things are, I won't write separately.

Shen Songquan, manager of the Xinchao Bookshop, is currently in Shanghai, ask [Shi] Zhecun to sort out Wangshu's posthumous manuscripts which are in Shanghai and hand them over to Mr. Shen who'll bring them back to Peking. Here they will edit and publish a collection of his posthumous unpublished manuscripts. Don't forget!!!<sup>¶</sup> They also want to bring out a commemorative volume, and hope that Zhecun and other friends in Shanghai will write a few articles and send them to Mr. Wu. As for Wangshu's books, please tell Zhecun not to sell them under any circumstances, but await instructions as to what to do with them.

Wishing you well,

Mother

5 March 1950.

[Penned by Wu Xiaoling.]

Notes: \* Dai Wangshu was in fact buried on 8 March 1955. His tombstone was inscribed by Mao Dun. Wan'an Cemetery was to a large extent destroyed during the Cultural Revolution; according to a graveyard worker, a troop of Red Guards from Sichuan were largely responsible for the damage and even went so far as to dig up graves. Dai's body was not exhumed but his tombstone was destroyed. Dai Wangshu's grave and stone were restored in 1980, the work being paid for by his daughters.

§ Mu Lijuan, Dai's first wife, was the mother of Dai's eldest daughter: Da Duoduo. Yang Jing, his second wife was the mother of his second and third daughters: Er Duoduo and San Duoduo. Yang Jing was also known as Yang Lizhen

and Liping. Dai's youngest daughter had been left behind in Hong Kong with Yang Jing and later came to Peking with her mother after Dai's death.

◇ Articles and short pieces on classical Chinese literature, most of which had not been published before Dai's death, were later collected and edited by Wu Xiaoling and published in 1958 by the Writers' Publishing House (作家出版社.) in Peking as *Xiaoshuo xiqu lunji* 《小说戏曲论集》.

[The details in this letter and the accompanying notes were verified by Wu Xiaoling and Dai's second daughter, Er Duoduo (Dai Yongxu), when I met them in April 1983.]

## DAI'S LETTERS TO SECOND WIFE

The following letters were written by Dai in 1949 to his second wife Yang Lizhen, or Liping, after he had returned to mainland China. The first, was written shortly after he arrived in Peking, the second, in August, just six months before the poet's death.

Parts of both letters are of a rather personal nature and concern Dai's desire for his wife to join him. The author hesitated to include these letters but decided finally that the information contained in the letters about Dai's living conditions and professional activities was too valuable to omit from a work of this kind..

\*

*Liping,*

*[We] arrived over a month ago now, but still haven't written to you. I suppose you may understand this kind of mood. I've done all I can to tell myself I want to forget you, but how can I forget! Every time I go to some place of amusement, every time some happy thing happens, I think of you, my heart muses: how good it would be if you were there!*

*Right up until last week, I thought that Duoduo [Er Duoduo, Dai's second daughter: Dai Yongxu] had for the moment forgotten you; throughout the last month, since boarding the ship until last week, she hadn't mentioned your name, I thought that the novelty and joy had made her forget everything, but last week, when she had a reaction against her inoculation and had a fever, she suddenly shouted out: "Mummy, why don't you want me? What am I doing here?"*

*This incoherent talk released the feelings she had been bottling up for a month, and my tears brimmed over. Really, why have you abandoned us? How is it that we have come to this?*

But I don't want to talk in this sad way, but rather to tell you of the situation since we parted. On that day, the boat didn't weigh anchor until 9 in the evening. After getting on board, my asthma was a lot better. Er Duoduo and I shared a cabin with Bian Zhilin and Mr. Kuang (Da Duoduo [Dai's eldest daughter, by Mu Lijuan] was in the cabin next to ours). The cabins were very comfortable, about the same as first class on an ordinary ship [they were on board a cargo vessel, the Norwegian ship Germa]. We also had the dining-room all to ourselves, and amused ourselves there the whole day long. The food wasn't bad either and there was drink to be had too. On the high seas, except for fog on the first two days, it was calm and clear all the way. Apart from Da Duoduo, there was not one case of seasickness. On the morning of 17 March, the boat arrived at Dagukou, but we didn't disembark that day because the people who'd been detailed to receive us didn't come out in the motor launch until the afternoon of the 18th (our ship was too large to go directly to Tianjin). That evening, we arrived at Tanggu and spent the night in the Customs house hostel, being accorded a grand reception. On the second day, the 19th, the Tanggu Public Security Bureau held a reception for us. After the reception we boarded a train specially arranged for us. At 12 o'clock reached Tianjin, the Municipal Government held another reception for us at the station, rested for an hour, reached Peking at 4 o'clock and came immediately to Cuiming Villa. Cuiming Villa was formerly a guest house for generals, built by the Japanese, after the victory, the K.M.T. took it over and used it for an Officers' Moral Endeavour Association, now it's been taken over by the People's Government as a place to receive democratic personages. While it is not as big as the Peking Hotel or the Liuguo Hotel, it is more peaceful and quiet, and movement in and out is



less restricted.

I live in 31, which is the best room in the villa. It has a sitting-room, bedroom, bathroom, storeroom, four rooms altogether, small yet exquisite. There is a telephone in the room, which is most convenient. When this was a military zone they say General Ye Jianying stayed in it and after Beiping was liberated, the People's Government Deputy Mayor, Xu Bing, also stayed in it. So I'm living in a room with a history. The bedroom has two sofa-beds, I sleep in one with Er Duoduo; Da Duoduo sleeps in the other by herself. We've lived here for over a month. On the day when we first got here, Er Duoduo was terribly excited, and started chattering like a little sparrow. Really, everything was new for her, I'd never been on a special train in my life, but for her it was her first time on a train at all and it was all perfectly natural for her. The towering Zhengyang Men, the glazed coloured tiles of the Forbidden City, all this elicited from her a "I've never seen that before" (afterwards she also ate her "I've never eaten before" toffee-apples, roasted haws, sugar-coated cherry apples and little white pears). Our every need is taken care of here, for example, baths, hair-cuts, laundry, medicine. There are three meals a day, for breakfast there is gruel, at lunch the food is extremely good, and at every meal there is fish, meat and sometimes even a whole chicken or duck..., I don't know what it will be like when we leave here?

During this past month or more, almost all we have been doing is having fun, either watching a show or in the park or Forbidden City. The children were with me all the time until 1 April, after which I was able to relax a bit, because on that date they started at Kongde School. Kongde School is a famous primary and secondary school, although it's not what it used to be, it's still not bad. Because I know both

the headmaster and the director , neither of the girls had any difficulty in getting in. Da Duoduo went into the fifth year, Er Duoduo went into the kindergarten. The trouble is that Er Duoduo only goes to school for half the day, in the afternoon I am still taken up with her. Now her Peking dialect is already quite good.

As usual, my health is not terribly good, so my original plan of going to the South-west has had to be shelved and I've decided to stay in Beiping. Perhaps I'll soon have to start the new job I've got recently and shan't be able to enjoy this comfortable and leisurely existence any longer. I hope I'll still be able to look after the children, but we'll have to wait and see. The government's child-care centre is very good, and many of the comrades' children are plump and rosy-cheeked I fear their care is much better than I can manage.

A few days ago I went to the Summer Palace with Er Duoduo and asked a friend to take a photograph, which I enclose, Da Duoduo didn't go because she was at school.

I expect that when your reply comes I shan't be here any longer, so you'd better write to the following address: c/o Mr. Wu Xiaoling, 21 Jiaochang toutiao, Xuanwumenwai, Beiping.

What are your plans? Going to France, going to Shanghai, or staying in Hong Kong. I, of course, would very much like you to come and see Beiping and bring Eng Duoduo [Dai's third daughter, Dai Yongshu, who had stayed in Hong Kong with her mother] with you. Just now, Beiping is full of hope. In Hong Kong you are just a decoration, here you would become a useful person with a limitless future. If you wish, you can go to Shen Songquan to fix something up or find [Ye] Lingfeng through Xia Yan. I should add straightaway that : this is for you to work out yourself and not

for me.

*Is Eng Duo all right? How is your health?  
Write and tell me all.*

Wangshu,  
27 April [1949],  
by lamplight.

\*

Liping,

*I received your letter over two weeks ago, but since I was in the middle of the Literary and Artistic Workers Representative Conference, I didn't have a moment to spare. While the conference was still in session we moved to Huabei University, I was ill, at first I wanted to put it off. Er Duoduo has urged me to write every day, so I'd better write. First, I'll tell you about life over the last few months. I left Cuiming Villa Guest House at the beginning of June, originally I was supposed to come to Huabei University, but because Da Duoduo and Er Duoduo hadn't broken up for the holidays, I lodged temporarily at the old place of the Literary Organs Association at 83 Beidu, not far from the school, for a month until the girls broke up. When the Literary and Artistic Workers Conference started we all moved into the Liugang Hotel at Qianmenwai [where presumably Luo Dagang came to see Dai], until 26 July when we moved to Huabei University. [Dai was to take up a post at the university but as is indicated below he was shortly transferred to a non-academic post.]*

*Er Duo has already finished kindergarten, her results were very good: Singing: A; Art: A; Stories: A; Handicraft: B; Common knowledge: B; Games: A; Sport: A; Intelligence: A; Physique: A; Moral conduct: A. Da Duoduo is not doing so well, she failed an arith-*

metic class and will have to re-sit. Er Duo knows a lot of big friends, like Shu Xiuwen, Zhou Xiaoyan etc., even I don't know them all, I also often go to Ma Sizong's place, she [Er Duo] and Ma Sizong's second daughter, Xuexue, are good friends, she takes Dai Ailian for her aunt. She has lots of opportunity for music and dance, but where have I got the time to look after her? Since you wrote and said you were going to bring Eng Duo to Beiping, she has frequently asked me when you are coming, tell me, what am I supposed to say? I think it would be very good if you came here; there are lots of opportunities to work and study, you won't be left aimless. You just have to get hold of the fare for the boat, as soon as you get to Tianjin there will be someone to meet you. If you can't even find the fare, then let me go and discuss it with Shen Sonquan, and get their cargo vessel to bring you. In the next few days I'm changing jobs and transferring to the International Publicity [or News] Bureau, in future there'll be the possibility of going abroad. As for the children's schooling in the next six months, it will have to wait for a decision until I've moved. As for mother, I've decided to invite her to Beiping, because there's no one in Shanghai to look after her and it's cheaper living here than there.

Er Duo has already grown a lot, last year's summer clothes are already too small for her. Throughout the Literary and Artistic Workers Conference, she went to the theatre every day, for about a month, now she's at Huabei University, every day, apart from practising her characters, she plays with the other children and watches the plays put on by the Huabei students. She constantly thinks about you and Eng Duo, so it would be good if you could come. When you come there are the following things to do that you could choose from: study at Huabei University; join a cultural troupe and participate in music or theatrical act-

ivities, the musicians Jia Liying and Guo Xingli are both members of a cultural troupe, Ma Sizong is too; go into the cinema; there is also lots of work in other organizations and the children shouldn't be left to themselves, you just need some serious work, the future will be limitless. Guangzhou will soon be liberated, Hong Kong's abnormal prosperity will necessarily be curtailed, you should think about your own future. [Dai, like many others both in China and Hong Kong not privy to the plans of the Communist leadership, expected Hong Kong to be re-absorbed into China proper along with rest of Guangdong province. When the Communist forces reached the border with Hong Kong, they, of course, proceeded no further.]

If you decide to come and can find the fare, please send me a telegram (to Dai Wangshu, c/o Shen Baoji, 4 Meicha hutong, Beiping) informing me of date of arrival. In Tianjin find Shen Songquan (25 Sanshengli, Machangdao, Tianjin) he will receive you. If you can't get the money together, send a telegram all the same, so that I can arrange with Shen Songquan for you to take their boat. However the latter course would mean bothering others, if you can find the fare yourself it would be best. When the time comes don't inform Ye Lingfeng and the others, it would put them to a lot of trouble.

Autumn is Beiping's finest season, your daughter hopes for you to come day and night. My health is not too bad, but the illness often comes on. I enclose a photograph taken last month.

All the best,

Wangshu,

4 August [1949]

Does A Bao want to come to Beiping? Give my regards.

[Dai's wife came to Peking after his death. Leaving their third child, Eng Duo, Dai Yongshu, in Peking, she soon returned to Hong Kong.]

### APPENDIX III

#### DAI WANGSHU'S NOTEBOOK

The notebook presented here was started by Dai in the mid-1930s, probably when the poet was in France. He used it as a rough book for writing and revising poems, in Chinese (pp. 1-29) and in French (pp. 33-35); for jotting down projected and completed articles and translations (pp. 36-42); and the back of the notebook as an address book. On page 32 is a drawing of Dai by a person unknown and on page 31 of a woman, perhaps his wife.

There are forty-two leaves or pages in all; where Dai has used the back of the page I have suffixed the letter B to the relevant page number.

Apart from the obvious value of having the manuscripts of Dai's poems at our disposal, several of the pages listing articles or translations are useful as evidence of Dai's literary interests and his activities in Europe.

Page 36 contains a list of Spanish works Dai had translated and for the most part published.

Page 38 contains what seems to be a list of planned translations; the items marked with a circle in the left-hand margin were later published.

Page 40B is a list of planned articles about Dai's trip to Spain in late 1934. As we have seen Dai published the article on 书市 [Book market] as 记马德里书市 [Madrid's book market] in *Huaqiao ribao*, *Wenyi zhoukan*, no. 58 (see Chapter 2, note 60). The list would also seem to suggest that Dai visited Burgos and confirm that he had been to Valladolid (see Chapter 2, note 58). As for the other articles, they were not

published and perhaps not even written; certainly no manuscripts have come to light.

Even more interesting is page 41. The items marked with a circle in the left-hand margin were written and published. The entry '记 Max Jacob' corroborates Shi Zhecun's testament (see Chapter 2, p. 45 and note 17) that Dai has visited Jacob. More surprisingly the entry '记 Jammes' would seem to establish that Dai had also visited Francis Jammes while in France; this is mentioned nowhere else, neither by Dai nor his friends.

Page 41B is a list of newspapers in which Dai perhaps planned to publish; he did in fact publish in all of the magazines.

\*

The notebook contains the following poems in manuscript:

'Guyi da ke wen' .....	1
'Deng' .....	2, 2B
'Qiu ye si' [revised draft] .....	3
'Ye e' .....	4
'Qiu ye si' [first draft] .....	5
'Xiao qu' .....	6
'Zeng Kemu' .....	7, 7B
'Yan' .....	8, 8B, 9
'Jimo' .....	10
'Wo sixiang' .....	11
'Yuanri zhufu' .....	12
'Bai hudie' .....	13
'Zhi yinghuo' .....	14, 14B
'Wo yong canyuan de shouzhang' .....	15, 15B
'Yuzhong tibi' .....	16

'Xinyuan' .....	17, 17B
'Dengdai' [1] .....	18
'Dengdai' [2] .....	19, 19B
'Zai tian qingle de shihou' .....	20, 20B
'Zeng nei' .....	21
'Shi zhangnü' .....	22, 22B, 23
'Guo jiu ju (chugao)' .....	24
'Guo jiu ju' .....	25, 25B, 26, 26B
'Xiaohong mupan kou zhan' .....	27
'Oucheng' .....	28
'Kouhao' .....	29
'Réponses à un hôte' [French text of 'Guyi da ke wen'] .....	33
[Poem in French no title: French text of 'Qiu ye si'] .....	34
'à l'Abbé Duperray' [French text of 'Xiao qu'] .....	35

[Page 30 is a blank page.]



2p.

## 古意答客問

孤心逐厚雲之煥燁好卷舒，  
 慣看青空好眼喜侵闌好青蕪。  
 你問我的歡樂何在？  
 ——窗頭明月枕邊書。

侵晨看嵐躑躅於山顛，  
 入夜听風瑣語於簾間。  
 你問我的靈魂安息於何處？  
 ——看那遠遠地遠遠地昇上去的炊煙。

渴飲露，飢餐英；  
 底守我的夢，鳥祝我的醒。  
 你問我可有人世間的罣慮？  
 ——听那清婉下去的永恒之過客的楚音。

le 5 decembre 1934

# 燈 ①

灯守着我，勤劳地，  
 凝看我眸子中  
 有穿着红裙的布衣村的  
 欢笑与童，  
 爱像种子，  
 像木与树似地  
 转着，转着，永恒地——  
 而根的青阳下的树不断的  
 小小的爆裂声，  
 摇着我，摇着我，  
 来和地。

美丽的节日感谢了，  
 木与树状自转着，转着——  
 灯徒然怀着母亲的勤劳，  
 孩子们的欢笑已褪了颜色。

已笑哉！  
 揉揉 ① 黑色大眼睛的凝视

去織成最清丽的夢園！

手指所觸的地方：

火凝作冰鑽，

花幻為紅霞。

灯守着我。讓地守着我！

曦陽普照，斷禍不復治其走，

帝王長卧，真火永恒地燃燒

在地獄之的陵寢。

這裏，一滴一滴地，

安靜墮落，墮落，墮落。

to 21 december 1934

## 秋夜里①

谁家野刀声？  
心也需要秋夜。

听秋人的咽哽，  
听木叶的喘息！  
风从每一条脉管里来，  
窃听你的松裂之音。

诗人云：心即是琴。  
谁听过那水鸟的啼音白雪？  
为真知的死者之慰藉，  
有人已将地题作墓碑。  
等天籁之音已绝，  
但听——  
一阵一阵的飘逝之音。  
——诗翁

而断裂的层叠易朽  
犹像侵入一位一柱的华年

le 25 octobre 1975 \*

## 夜蛾

凭着蜡烛的圆光，  
 夜蛾作可憐的彷徨舞，  
 这些寂寞的幽魂似不想起  
 已死的蝶，未死的蝶叶。

但说这是小睡中的敌人，  
 能越南山，能越雪树  
 来慰藉我们的不幸，  
 来悼念我们的死伤，被记忆所逼  
我们用了要死的名字仍在台来。

我却明白她们是我自己，  
 因为她们用彩色的大蛾翅  
 遮蔽我的影子，  
 让我留在幽暗里。

这祇是为了一念要死  
不是梦，祇待那一天我化成蝶。

le 26 dec. 1936



## 秋夜思

誰家動刀尺？  
心也需要秋夜了。

听~~的~~ 秋人的~~啼~~ 呼唤，  
听~~的~~ 木葉的~~嘆~~ 呼吸，  
風從每一條脈管進來  
听牠的~~低~~ 絮語之音。

詩人云心即是琴，  
誰听过那女書的陽春白雪？  
知己者已將牠懸在梧桐，  
為天籟之憑藉，  
然而新裂的吳絲蜀桐，  
僅使人一弦一柱思華年。

46 Juin 1935

拟作小曲 5

12

啼倦的鸟藏首在彩翎间，  
 落的小雨魂向何处翩跹；  
 老去的花一瓣一瓣委尘土，  
 香的小雨魂在何处飘连？

牠们不舒在地狱裏，不舒，  
 这那么好，那么好的雨魂！  
 那么是在天堂，在乐园裏？  
 摇头，聖彼得可也否认。

没有人知道在那裏，没有，  
 诗人却微笑而三缄其口：  
 有什么东西在调和幽气，  
 在他的心的永恒的宇宙。

Le 14 mai 1936.

## 贈友人

我不懂<sup>人</sup>為什麼給那些星長，  
取一些牠們不需要的名稱；  
牠們閑游在太空，是牽無掛，  
不了解我們，也不求聞達。

記着天狼，海王，大熊這一大堆，  
還有牠們的成份，牠們的位置；  
你絞乾了腦汁，漲破了頭，  
弄了一輩子，●還是個未知的宇宙。

星來星去，宇宙運行，  
春秋代序，人死人生，  
太陽無量數，太空無際大，  
我們祇是倏忽渺小的生命閃爍。

不痴不聾，不做阿爾翁，  
為人<sup>人</sup>道全在悟懂，  
最好不求甚解，單是生，  
看天，看星，看月，看太陽。



也看山,看水,看雲,看風,  
看春夏秋冬之不同,  
還看世人的哀樂,世人的憧憬:  
靜默地看,圖案在其中。

~~我是一顆星~~ <sup>我是一顆星</sup>  
在太空中欲止則止,欲行即行,  
給這個人間不定的道路,算不出軌跡,  
然後把太陽融成碎片,把地球撞成泥。

le 18 mai 1936.

靜在其中,樂在空谷時一外,  
我和歡樂和超越一切地境界,  
自己成一個宇宙,有牠的日月星,  
要供你做研究,讓你踏著我。

眼 ~~度~~ (6)

在你的眼睛那微光下，  
 遇逢那潮汐昇降：

玉的珠宝，  
 青铜的珍藏；  
 十美展展奥之翅，  
 剪碎分而复合的  
 顽强那用炭的水。

无涯崖的水，  
 暗青色如水！  
 在什么经纬度上的海中  
 我投身又沉溺在  
 在以太阳之空照射那诸太阳间，  
 在以月亮之空映透那诸月亮间，  
 在以星辰之空闪烁那诸星辰间？  
 於是我是繁星，  
~~我~~我有我的手，  
~~有~~我的眼，  
 并尤其有我的心。

> 我啼曝於你的眼睫毛  
 蒼茫朦朧的微光中，  
 并在你上面，  
 在你那太室陽鏡子中，  
 鑑照我自己  
 透明而黑黑的  
 火那影子，  
 死去或冰凍的火那影子。  
 我伸長，我結着，  
 我永恒地結着，  
 在你的永恒之周圍  
 并在你之中——  
 我是從天上奔流到海  
 從海奔流到天上的江河，  
 我是你每一條動脈，  
 每一條靜脈，  
 每一個微血管中的血液，  
 我是你的睫毛，  
 (牠們也在你的 ~~眼睛~~  
 眼睛的鏡子裏顯影)  
 你的睫毛，你的睫毛，

我是你，  
因<sup>而</sup>我●是我。

le 19 de oct. 1956

## 寂寞

園中野草漸離去，  
 托根於我舊時的腳印，  
 給牠披青春的好綠衣：  
 星夜的盤桓從茲消隱。

日子過去，寂寞永在存  
 寄魂於離去的野草  
 像那些可憐的靈魂，  
 如我一般高。

我今不復到園中去，  
 寂寞已如我一般高：  
 我夜坐怕風，晝眠怕雨，  
 怕得天如何荒，地如何老。

12 mar 1932.

~~偶~~ 我思也

我思想，故我是“想”家——  
 来年花儿的铃声  
 穿过空灵的钟声，  
 来振撼我胆红的羽翼。

14 mar 1937

元旦祝福

新的一年带给我们新的希望。  
祝福！我们的土地，  
祖国的土地，建设的土地，  
更坚强的生命将从而成长。

新的一年带给我们新的力量。  
祝福！我们的人民，  
坚强的人民，英勇的人民，  
~~我们~~ ~~我们~~ ~~我们~~ 自由解放

1 janvier 1939

27.

白胡蝶 5

给我什么智慧给我，

小小的白胡蝶

翻用<sup>3</sup>空白之页，

合上了空白之页？

翻用的书页：

寂寞；

合上的书页：

寂寞。

3 mai 1940 /



## 致萤火 5

萤火，萤火，  
你来照我。

照我，照这沾露的草，  
照这泥土，照到你老。

我躺在这里，让一颗芽，  
穿过我的躯体，我的心，  
长成树，开花；

让一片青色如藓苔，  
那么轻，那么轻，  
把我全身遮盖，

你一双小手抚摸，  
当往日我在熟眠，  
把一条薄被  
在我身上轻披。

[14B]

我躺在这里，  
咀嚼着太阳的香味；  
在什么别的天地，  
曾经在青空中飞。

萤火，萤火，  
你一缕细细的丝线——  
夠掙得起记忆，  
夠把沉寂來吞嚥！

26 Juin 1941

# 我用残损的手掌<sup>(5)</sup>

我用残损的手掌  
 摸索这广大的土地：  
 这一角已变成灰燼，  
 那一角却是血和泥；  
 这一片曾经是我的家乡，  
 （春天，堤上梨花如锦障，  
 嫩柳枝折断有奇异的芬芳）  
 我触到荇藻和水的微凉；  
 这长白山的雪峰冷到彻骨，  
 这黄河的水夹着泥沙在指间滑出；  
 江南的水田，你当年新生的禾草  
 是否还那个，那个，——现在只有蓬蒿；  
 岭南的荔枝在贫瘠的土壤里，  
 那那边，那那边，那没有便船的荒村……

无形的手掌掠过无限好的江山，  
 手却沾了血和灰，手掌黏了阴暗，  
 只有那辽远的一角依然完整，  
 温暖，明朗，坚固而蓬勃生春。

在那上面,我用粗糙的手掌抚摸,  
 你恋人的发髻,嬰孩手中乳。  
 我把全部的力量运在手掌  
 贴在上面,寻求爱的一切希望,  
 因为只有那里是太阳,是春,  
 将驱逐险暗,带来逃生,  
 因为只有那里我们不停牲口一样活,  
 像牲口一样死……那里,永恒的中心!

3 juillet, 1942.

✓ 計中計 5)

如果我死在这里，  
朋友啊，不要悲伤，  
我会永远地活在  
你们的记忆里。

你们中的一个死了，  
在田中你领地的牢裏，  
就這麼懷着好洋人仇恨，  
你们应该永遠地記憶。

把他封在山上，  
祭着太陽，唱着凱歌：  
在這是初生的土牢，  
這是唯一的美夢。

27 April 1942

心願 ~~●~~ ● ● ●

幾時可以用槍笑人，  
把肚子吃一個飽，  
到柑林子去取一息步，  
然後回來安逸地睡一覺？  
只有把敵人打倒。

幾時可以再看見朋友你，  
跟地你上山，跋水，跋心，  
喝杯咖啡，抽一枝煙，  
吃口糖，坐上天？  
只有把敵人入彀。

幾時可以一家團聚，  
地（妻子，抱（兒女，  
燒个好菜，看本電影，  
回來圍爐談笑却更保？  
只有將敵人殺盡。

只有起來打擊敵人，

[17B]

自由和幸福總會臨降，  
否則這些全是白日夢  
和沒有現實的幻想。

25 Jan 1943

21

等待<sup>15</sup>

我甘待了两年，  
你仙还是这样遥遥啊！  
我甘待了两年，  
我的眼睛已经也倦啊！

说六个月可以回来啦，  
我却甘待了两年啊，  
我已经这样衰颓败啦，  
谁知道这样狗你临天啊。

我守望着你仙的脚步，  
在愁闷的复国和死亡间，  
为你仙再来，带着幸福，  
会在泥土中看见我修大的眼。

31 dec. 1943



## 等待

你似走了，留下汽车在这里，  
看血污的铺石上徘徊着鬼影，  
饥饿的眼睛凝望着铁栅，  
勇敢胸膛迎着白刃：  
取辱都住着一颗赤心，  
在那里，燃起地燃火与香燭。

把我遗忘在这里，让我见见  
厚度的程度，沉痛的界限，  
做个证人，做你们的眼，你们的眼。  
尤其做你们的心，受苦处，磨练，  
仿佛是大地的一隅，让践踏蹂躏，  
仿佛是你们的一滴血，还在你们后面。

没有眼及有计量的等待：  
生和死那么紧地相贴相握，  
而在两者间，似长的岁月在那裏播，  
做伴是这苦路，好像亲兄弟。  
掘地只两岁远近，我知道  
在绝佔与尺草土，盖三尺青草；





[20B]

新陽推開了陰霾了，  
溪水在狂風中暈旋，  
看山向移動的暗綠——  
雲的腳跡——牠也在前進。

2 juin 1944

赠 内 (1)

空白的诗帖；  
幸福的年光；  
因为我苍白的诗笺  
祇为 ~~我的~~ 灾难树里挂碑。

即使清丽的词章，  
也会因失地的荒凉，  
恰似你鬓边憔悴的花  
映着 ~~圆~~ 明媚的 ~~笑颜~~。  
朱

不出家之地过一世，  
安着你的光彩的茎沐；  
一旦为后人说起时，  
但 ~~要~~ ~~她~~ 仍说往昔某人最幸福。

9 June 1944

61

## 示長女

記得那些幸福的日子！

女兒，記起你幼小的心靈：

你童年並做着海鳥的彩餌，

貝殼的珠色，潮汐的清音，

山嵐的蒼翠，梨花如綠錦，

和愛你的父母的足跡。

我們有一個安樂的家，

環繞着淙淙的泉水聲，

冬天暖着太陽，夏天親着清涼，

白天有朋友，晚上有恬靜，

芳月在窗外流，不來打擾，

佳賓終年長駐的歡欣，

如果人家窺見我們在松下談笑，

就會覺得單為這也值得過一生。

我們有一個幽靜的園子，

她給你們匿藏着葡萄藤和金菊，

你爸（讀倦書）去墾地，



你媽在太陽陰裏縫紉，  
 你呢，你在草地上追~~追~~<sup>新</sup>蝶，  
 然後在溫柔的懷裏尋溫柔的寧靜。

人人說我們最快活，  
 也許<sup>我們</sup>我們生活过得最，  
 也許~~你~~你媽溫柔又美麗，  
 也許~~你~~你爸詩句最清新。

可是，女兒，這幸福是短暫的，  
 一剎時都被寒鎖煙埋；  
 你記得我們的小園臨大海，  
 從那裏你一去就不再回過頭，  
 從此我對着遙遠的天涯，  
 松樹下帶~~帶~~徘徊到暮靄。

那些蝴蝶的日子，你彩蝶，  
 現在枉費你換季追尋，  
 我彷彿看見你從~~這~~向~~那~~，  
 到~~那~~向，用小手揮逐陰影，  
 然後，徬徨着天外的父親，

把疲倦的頭擱在小枕頭上。

希望，記着那些幸福的日子，  
女兒，記着你的小心靈：  
你竟（心）就會永遠在，你往哪，  
守護你的心夢，守護你的理想。

27 June 1944 作



— 正哲 (初稿) (5)

静掩的窗子隔住尘世的幸福，  
 寂寞的温暖饱含着远远的炊烟——  
 陌生的声音，还是解体的呼唤？……  
 把原野的尘土在往昔生成了瞬间。

Le 2 mars 1944

8

# 过 窗 后

这样澄明的日影，  
这样温暖的安静，  
这片午炊的香味，  
对我是多么熟悉。

这窗户外，这窗内，  
后面有幸福在窥视，  
还有书架书，两张床，  
一盆花……这已是天堂。

我没有忘记：这是家，  
妻如玉，女如花，  
清晨的呼唤和灯下的闲话，  
想一想，会让人发傻；

单听她们的亲昵地叫，  
就够人整天地骄傲，  
出门时挺起胸，伸直腰，  
工作时也抬起头微笑。

现在……可不是我回家午餐？  
桌上一定摆上了盘和碗，  
亲手调的羹，亲手煮的饭，  
想起了就会嘴馋。

这条路我曾经走了多少回！  
多少回？过去都压成一堆，  
叫人不能分辨，日子是那么相类，  
同样幸福的日子，这些孀生姊妹。

我或许糊涂啦，是不是今天  
出门时我忘记说“再见”？  
还是这件事情发生在许多年前，  
其中间隔着许多变迁？

可是不带露水，这庭园，  
那里却这样静，没有声响，  
没有可爱的影子，娇小的叫嚷，  
只是空空，空空，伴着阳光。

而我的脚步为什么又这样累？  
 是否我肩上压着苦闷的年岁，  
 压着忧伤，渗透到骨髓，  
 使我眼睛蒙眬，心头消失？又怎样？

为什么幸福的感觉这样新鲜？  
 好像痛没有收口，苦味在舌尖。  
 是一个归途的游鱼把我欺骗，  
 还是笑靥的日月真横亘其间？

我不明白，是否一切都未改动，  
 却是我自己做了白日梦，  
 而一切都在那里，原封不动：  
 欢笑没有冰凝，幸福没有磨钝？

或是那些真实的岁月，年代，  
 走得太快——已超过了现在，  
 回过头来瞧瞧，匆忙又退回来，  
 再陪我走几步，给我脑海的欢快？

有人開了窗，  
有人開了門，  
走到露台上——  
一個陌生的人。

生活，生活，無盡的奔波！  
咽下吞聲，昨日已疲倦的腳步：  
遮斷了頭等的不僅是海和大，雲和樹  
無名的過客在往著你，瞬間的躊躇。

10. Mar 1944.

1944.

✓ 萧红墓畔口占

走六小时寂寞的长途，  
到你头边放一束红山茶，  
我等待着，长夜漫漫，  
你却卧听着海涛闲话。

20 nov. 1944

偶成<sup>5</sup>

如果生命的春天重到，  
 大地的冰块都哗地解冻，  
 那时我会再看见煤烟的微笑，  
 再听见明朗的呼唤——这些辽远的梦。

这些好东西都决不会消失，  
 因为一切好东西都永远存在，  
 它们只是像冰一样凝结，  
 而有一天会像花一样重开。

31 mar 1945



✓ 口 號 5

盟軍的轟炸機來了，  
看牠們勇敢地飛翔，  
向牠們表示祝賀的愉快，  
但卻永遠不要驚慌。

看敵人四處奔竄，資料：  
盟軍的轟炸機來了，  
也許我仙會碎骨粉身，  
但您比死在敵人手上好。

我仙需要冷靜，堅忍，  
離開兵營，工廠，船塢；  
盟軍的轟炸機來了，  
叫敵人踏進死地。

苦難的歲月不會再遙遠，  
解放的好日子就快到，  
你看帶着這消息的  
盟軍的轟炸機來了。

16 Jan. 1945 香港大森 \*







## Réponses à un hôte

Mon cœur solitaire suit les nuages dans leur fuite  
 lumineuse,  
 Habitué à l'azur, mes yeux se plaisent aux  
 herbes folles de mon seuil.  
 Vous me demandez quels sont mes plaisirs  
 Ma lune à la fenêtre et mes livres à mon chevet.

Contempler le matin la brume errant sur les montages  
 Écouter la nuit le vent marmurant dans les feuilles  
 Vous me demandez où mon âme se repose  
 Regardez la fumée, qui, lentement, s'élève.

La rosée à ma soif et les fleurs à ma faim  
 Le cerf veille mes songes et l'oiseau fête mon  
 réveil.  
 Vous me demandez si m'importe le monde?  
 Écoutez les pas de l'éternel Passant décroître  
 décroître...

Lyon, le 5 dec. 1914.



Est-ce déjà le temps de coudre, de tricoter?  
Le cœur fileux, lui aussi, désire des vêtements  
d'automne.

Écoutez l'appel des sirènes,  
La respiration des feuilles!  
Le vent vient le pénétrer  
Par chaque veine, par chaque artère,  
Pour le surprendre et crevasser.

Le poète a dit: cœur, est cithare.  
Qui jamais a ouï ses vieux airs?  
Pour la consolation d'un mort clairvoyant,  
On l'a suspendue à une branche d'arbre.  
Sans l'attente qu'un rythme céleste y résonne,  
Chant fugitif, une seule fois entendue ---

Et chaque corde de cet ancien instrument  
brisé  
Ne fera songer qu'aux flonflons d'autan.

à l'Abbé Duperray

Vers où s'envolent les petites âmes-sous  
Lorsque, pas de chanter les oiseaux s'en vont,  
Vers où s'acheminent les âmes-parfums si menues,  
Quand au déclin du printemps les fleurs s'in-  
clinent!

Pas dans l'enfer, non!  
Ce sont des êtres si bons.  
Est-ce au ciel alors, au paradis?  
Hochant la tête, saint Pierre le nie.

Où sont-elles... nul ne le sait.  
Mais le Poète sourit et se tait:  
Quelque chose dans l'univers de son cœur  
S'exhale et s'apaise en chœur.

Azorín : Una hora de España  
 " : Los Pueblos  
 " : Doña Inés  
 " : Blanco en Azul  
 Baroja : Vidas sombrías  
 Uramuno : Tres novelas ejemplares y un prólogo  
 " : Niebla  
 Lorca : Romancero gitano  
 " : Boda de sangre  
 " : Poemas escogidos  
 Pérez de Ayala : Belarmino y Apolonio  
 " : Tigre Juan  
 Antología de los poetas contemporáneos

龍斜文錄

普賢尊之死

記詩人許邦仙慶云

巴黎的舊書攤

馬德里時表市

巴拿馬特約屋子

香港的古董市

東京的游藝之真偽

在小說的沈枝幹之時代

李娃傳的白行簡作說解

張山人犬考

合生小考



~~Private Copy~~  
Private Copy

鄭子孫 44年11月22日, 上海

三才图会

19. 7. 1945

~~饮水加茶~~~~金海 (19)~~

23.185

Ball room dancing

~~Silver's Landing~~

程

附錄

~~Intimate things~~

~~12-12~~

天也天也

pg 1/2 ~~modern 1-2-3-4-5~~ American Stories

*Barbame* *in* *fine* 德; 皮士, 记第7

Dracula

~~Poland, Bethel~~

~~Highways to where the ball was~~

~~Muller's Log of Hope~~

老新街 全收

Form: Chinese art, l'art chinois

~~The World's~~ The World's



- Chateaubriand : Atala et René, semia blanda
- Merimée : Contes choisis
- ~ Daudet : Contes choisis
- △ Laparillo de Tormes
- Princesse de Clèves
- △ Azorin : Blanes en Azul
- △ Baudelaire : 惡之華
- Renard : Histoires naturelles
- Rimbaud : Illuminations

⊗ 法葡西短篇小說四十年集

⊗ 法葡西現代詩抄

⊗ 西班牙現代詩抄

△ ○ Azorín: 西班牙第一十時

△ " : 十城

" : 文萃

△ ○ Lorca: 希達諾詩曲集

△ ○ " : 詩選

△ ○ Radiguet: 陶爾達伯爵的舞會

△ ○ 西班牙抗戰詩曲集

△ ○ Valery: 文學

△ Supervielle: 詩選

⊗ ○ Malraux: 希望

△ Lorca: Boda de sangre

⊗ Unamuno: Niebla

△ " : 3 novelas ejemplares

⊗ ○ Ayala: 傅拉萊諾與阿倍洛德

⊗ " : Tigre Juan

⊗ Cervantes: 去訴使節

△ Rimbaud: Une saison en enfer

△ " : 詩選

## Rimbaud

Une saison en enfer 銷燬之證

Une saison en enfer 的序言研究

Rimbaud 是 communiste 嗎?

‘母音’的源流

Bateau ivre 的源流

芸隱堂出版書

災難的歲月

卡門 (Carmen)

蘇聯詩壇選集

西班牙的一小時

山城

地鈴草

婦女問答

散文化散記

Cervantes 之家

○西班牙的铁路

○在一个边境的站上

在 Burgos

公寓生活

三位女教师

Montera 街

鬥牛

✓書市

绅士的 Ávila

一星期外出生活

¡Viva la guapa!

西班牙的电影

在 El Escorial

一个发现

一个 Hidalgo

Valladolid Cervantes 之家



○ 巴黎的市声

巴黎的市声

○ 巴黎的書攤

巴黎的書攤

○ 在 Supervielle

在 Max Jacob

在 Wahl

巴黎的畫廊

Musset 著 譯 的 稿 柳

○ La maison de "Babarottes"

在 Jammes

"Sous la lampe"

我的 argot 教師

报纸

申报自由谈

东方杂志

文汇报

联合晚报

大晚报

中央日报

杂志

东方杂志

文汇报

文汇报

文汇报

文汇报

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王光焜 四季路五洲大楼大器行

翁振成 奥内卑利喇街85地下



[42B]

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 周作福 广东省政府秘书处编译室  
 王德家 上海胶州路202  
 施安存 上海愚园路1018  
 Mr Kinkemo c/o H. L. Wu, P.O. Santiniketan. 6  
 沈仲章 上海八仙桥青年会839便锡摩  
 朱克楠 上海外滩中国银行总管理处代托部  
 杨时彦 上海极司非尔路33号  
 林翔重 香港德光道316三樓  
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 杭州棲雲坊巷六号(1723)

o Bengal; India.

s [Paris] VII

## APPENDIX IV

### MISCELLANEOUS

I. Dai Wangshu's cadre registration form, completed on his taking the post of Director of the French section of the International News Bureau, in 1949.

II. Dai Wangshu's poems in *Cahiers du Sud*, March 1935:

LE VOYAGEUR .....	p. 558
NOCTAMBULE .....	p. 559
LE JARDIN CLOS .....	p. 559
DEMODE .....	p. 560
TROIS BENEDICTIONS .	p. 560
REGRET .....	p. 561

## 幹部登記表

地區 級別 系統 填寫要確實清楚

姓 名	戴望舒	性 別	男	個人成份	知識份子
現 名	戴朝采	年 齡	四十四	家庭出身	小資產階級
曾用名	江思	婚 否	已婚	文化程度	大學畢業
籍 貫	浙江杭州	現住何處	北平錢糧胡同十一號	現在職業	國際新聞局
何時何地何人介紹入黨		候補期多長 何時轉正		現在工作	全
何時何地參加工作或入伍		有何疾病	哮喘	有何特長	將寫經法文，而做政
參加革命前後的家庭經濟狀況	經濟狀況不很好，僅靠著寫稿子生活。				
家庭及個人社會關係及其職業與政治面目	家中親戚很少，來往的更不多，經常來往的祇有經營進口商家的姐夫（有政治思想）；自己的朋友，大概都是進步的文化工作者，特別是文學工作者。				
參加過何種革命團體（黨領導下的），何時何地何人證明	在一九二九年在，曾在上海參加過左聯，馮雪岑同志可以證明。 在一九二六至一九二七年，在上海寶山大學讀書的時候，曾任過C.Y.，一九二七年在上海被捕後，就與黨失掉關係。				
在黨內受過何種訓練及其主要內容，亦主要都看過些什麼馬列主義書籍	讀過共產黨宣言，資本論，聯共史，社會主義思想科學的發展，社會主義與經濟學，論科學的意義，新民主主義論，共產黨綱領上的講話，論政治，中國革命與中國共產黨，中國共產黨，聯共史等。				
參加過什麼黨派和宗教團體，現在與他們有無關係					
曾否被捕被俘或失掉關係，經過、如何解決、何人證明、本人對處理意見					
何時何地受過何種獎勵和處分、及其原因					

片文名師

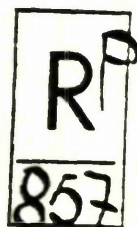
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個人 略 歷	<p>曾在上海大學中文系(1925), 震旦大學文學院(1926-1927), 巴黎大學文科(1930-1932), 法國里昂大學文科(1932-1934), 西班牙馬德里中央大學文科(1935)授課。</p> <p>曾任上海第一條書店總編輯(1928), 上海水信言社總編輯(1929-1930), 文化基金會編譯委員會編譯(1935-36), '新詩'月刊主編(1937), 上海聖約翰大學教授(1937), 香港聖約翰大學編譯(1938-1941), <i>Chinese Writers</i> 主編(1940), <i>China Today</i> 法文及西班牙文編輯(1940-41), 上海暨南大學教授(1946-47), 上海師範各科學校中文系主任及教授(1947-48), 上海音樂各科學校教授(1948), 北平華北大學研究員(1949)。</p>
組織 鑑定 及 自己 檢討(何 時何 地)	
工作 意見 對見	
備 考	

北平市委組織部製



Année

Mars 1935

# Cahiers du Sud

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**■ PHILOSOPHIE ■**

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## Poèmes

### LE VOYAGEUR

*Quand, sur la mer, la brise souffle,  
Sur les ondes sombres, s'épanouissent partout les  
roses bleues.*

— *Où es-tu, toit du voyageur?*

*La porte de la clôture est le toit des araignées,  
Le mur de terre celui des ronces,  
Et l'arbre en fleur celui des moineaux.*

*Le voyageur n'a même pas de nostalgie,  
Il flotte parmi les méduses et les pélamides:  
— Laissons les fleurs solitaires s'épanouir et tomber  
dans le jardin natal.*

*Car sur la mer s'épanouissent les roses bleues,  
Pourquoi le voyageur s'inquiéterait-il de son jardin  
désert?  
N'a-t-il pas une compagne plus charmante que les  
roses?*

## NOCTAMBULE

*Voici venir le noctambule/  
 Dans la rue déserte, résonnent ses pas:  
 Du brouillard tout noir,  
 Au brouillard tout noir.*

*Ami le plus intime de la nuit,  
 Il en connaît tous les secrets;  
 Si intime qu'il a pris  
 Toutes les manies de la nuit.*

*Le noctamule est un cœur étrange.  
 Regardez-le s'avancer dans la nuit noire  
 D'un pas silencieux comme la nuit,  
 Et sur la tête, un feutre noir.*

## LE JARDIN CLOS

*Dans le jardin, au mois de mai,  
 Foisonnent déjà fleurs et feuilles  
 Aucun ramage dans la feuillée*

*Les alloés sont vêtues de ronces,  
 Et le cadenas de la porte, de rouille;  
 Le maître reste sous un soleil lointain.*

*Sous le soleil lointain  
 Un jardin radieux peut-il être*

*Le passant épie près de la haie,  
 Songeant en vain au maître sous l'autre ciel.*

## DEMODE

*Dites que je suis un jeune homme  
Qui regrette le bon vieux temps.  
Je fredonne une chanson neuve,  
Et déjà vous vous moquez: que c'est démodé!*

*Oui, démodé: mes amoureuses du temps passé  
Sont maintenant épouses ou mères,  
Mais moi, je reste pauvrement jeune.  
Jeune? non, pas tout à fait.*

*Non, je ne suis plus tout à fait jeune.  
Dites que je suis un peu vieilli.  
Regardez seulement la façon dont je porte la canne,  
Cela vous dira tout, et mes yeux aussi.*

*A vrai dire, je suis un jeune vieillard:  
Trop jeune pour les herbes et le vent d'automne,  
Trop vieux pour la lune et les fleurs de printemps.*

## TROIS BENEDICTIONS

*Mer sombre aux molles vagues  
Où l'on ne souffre que le mal du pays,  
Chevelure de ma bien-aimée,  
Reçois mon regret en bénédiction.*

*Belle-de-jour couleur d'amour,  
Bleue de jour, belle de nuit,  
Prunelle de ma bien-aimée,  
Reçois mon ivresse en bénédiction.*

*Petite abeille aux ailes roses,  
Petite abeille au cruel aiguillon  
Douloureux mais bienheureux,  
O bouche de ma bien-aimée,  
Reçois ma plainte en bénédiction.*



## POEMES

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## REGRET

— *Un, deux, trois...*  
*Ces fleurs étoilant le couvre-lit,*  
*Pourquoi ne donnent-elles pas de fruits?*  
*Déjà ont fui: le printemps, l'été l'automne.*

*Demain le rêve sera pris en stalactite.*  
*Reparaîtra-t-il encore le soleil chaud?*  
*Malgré le soleil chaud,*  
*Suivant les gouttes d'eau*  
*On ne trouve que le tintement*  
*Du rêve tombé.*

TAI VAN CHOU.

## APPENDIX V

## TAPE RECORDINGS

The appended tape cassettes contain extracts of interviews recorded in Peking and Shanghai between 1981 and 1983, with the following:

Dai Yongxu, Peking, 18 April 1983

Feng Yidai, Peking, 18 April 1983

Jin Kemu, Peking, 6 April 1983

Luo Dagang, Peking, 6 July 1981

Shi Zhecun, Shanghai, 18 October 1982

Tang Tao, Peking, 11 April 1983

Wu Xiaoling, Peking, 18 April 1983

Also included is a recording of Dai Wangshu's poem 'Liulangren de yege', read in Hangzhou dialect.

\*

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the stories contained in it.

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Shanghai, 1930.

Translated under the pen-name Jiangsi 江思. 'A week' (1932) by Yuri Libedinski (1898-1959), centers around the quelling of a White rebellion. The author spent much of his youth in Tsarist gaols. Expelled from the Communist Party in 1937.

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1930. Article written under pen-name Jiang Si  
江思.

"Shiren Mayekuofusiji de si" 诗人玛耶阔夫司基的死 [Death  
of the poet Mayakovsky], *Xiaoshuo yuebao* 小说月  
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Dai reasons that the Soviet explanation for  
Mayakovsky's suicide is not substantiated by  
the facts. The article goes on to discuss Fut-  
urism.

"Sulian wentan de fengbo" 苏联文坛的风波 [A storm in  
the Soviet literary world], *Xin wenyi* 新文艺  
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